

# MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

December, 1946

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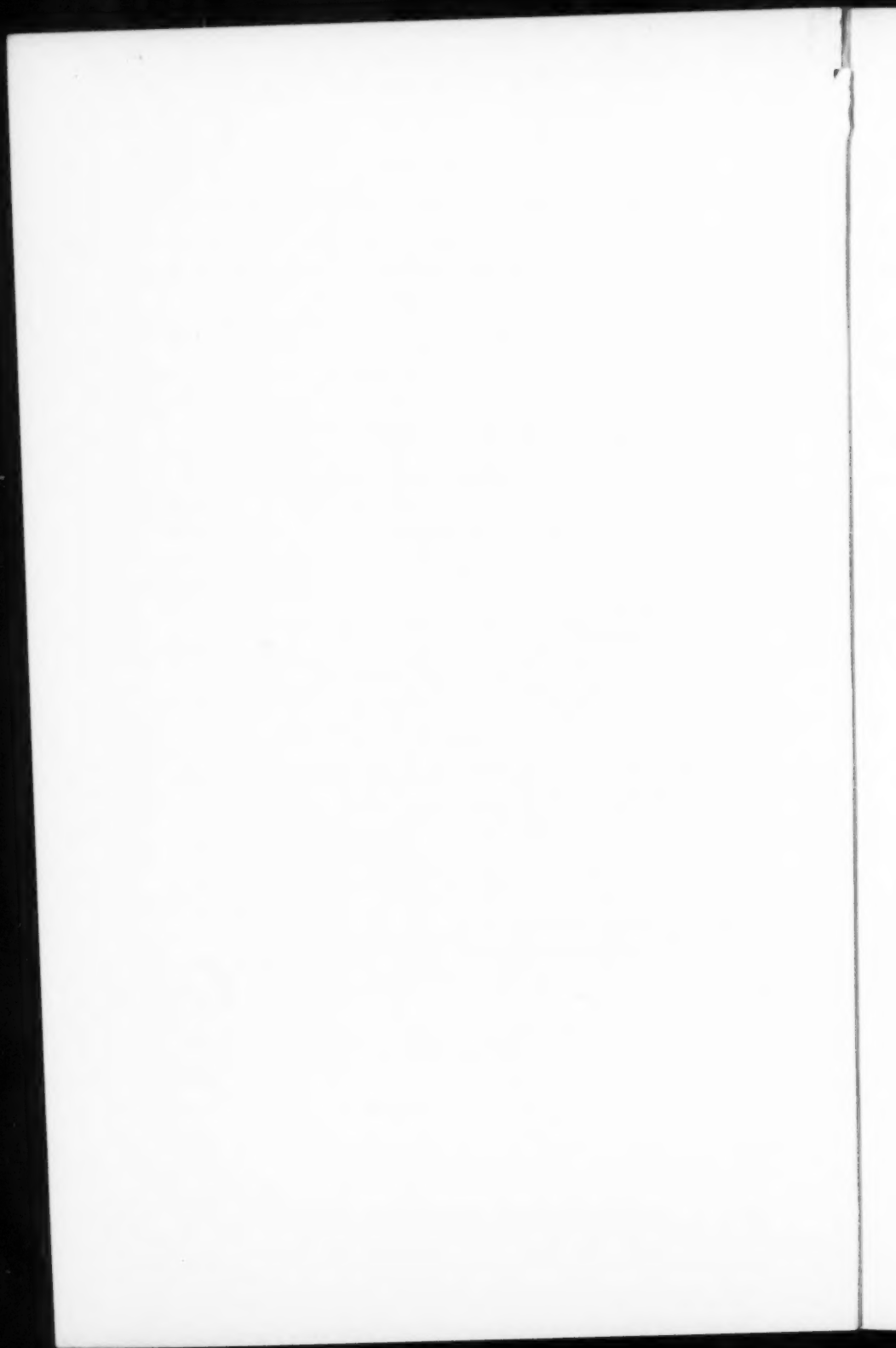
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## FRANZ WERFEL'S ESCHATOLOGY AND COSMOGONY

By ADOLF D. KLARMANN

When Franz Werfel died on the twenty-sixth of August, 1945, fate singled him out for a favor it rarely bestows on authors; his great, Dantesque novel *Der Stern der Ungeborenen*<sup>1</sup> was finished, and with it Werfel had written his last will to mankind. In the uniquely realistic guise of a travelogue of a twentieth-century man, transported after his death to a world of a hundred thousand years hence, he revealed his last thoughts on every subject close to his heart, above all, his final cognitions of God, the cosmos, and man. In the main, this last work of his is a spiritual autobiography seen through the spectrum of eons, written with a keen sense of romantic irony and a delight in story telling reminiscent of a Jean-Paul at his best. Since the ideas expressed in this book are to a large degree summations of previously conceived truths, a survey of Werfel's eschatological thinking seems appropriate, especially so since it will be the purpose of this study to show that at the very end of his life Werfel arrives at the same station from which he started out as a child, thus completing a full circle—from naive, unquestioning, intuitive faith, through intellectual search, to a final humble acceptance and confession of pure faith again.

It may be interesting to note at the beginning that the course briefly outlined above is presaged, though with different objectives in mind, in the development of Ferdinand in Werfel's *Barbara oder die Frömmigkeit*, but with one important difference, namely, the fact that Ferdinand is born a Christian. His is, as a birthright, what to Engländer and to Werfel must remain an unattainable grace: Barbara's faith. Faith is as natural a part of life to the child Ferdinand, and as sustaining, as food or sleep. It grows dim in the adolescent and, later, in the youth under the impact of formality and enforced discipline of the Church as an institution; for, like Werfel, young Ferdinand passes through manifold stages of profane attempts at redemption of mankind. However, in contrast to Werfel, he is more the pushed than the pusher, more witness than actor, for the one important reason that the faith which Barbara planted in him is like a safe anchor; while it allows a considerable freedom of movement, it forestalls a complete drifting out upon the waters of doubt. This becomes the more evident in the end, when the man Ferdinand, in a

<sup>1</sup> Since this article was written, the English translation by Gustave O. Arlt has appeared under the title: *The Star of the Unborn* (New York: Viking Press, 1946). All quotations from this work are cited from the typewritten German manuscript, given this author by Werfel, but the page numbers refer to the English translation.

unique consummation of the Goethean pedagogical province, chooses the rather innocuous profession of ship's physician. It matters little to him now what occupation he pursues. The gold coins which Barbara saved for him throughout the turbulent years of shifting values, this earthly symbol of a higher and final security, he casts into the sea; the real gold is now in his heart, and he can never be deprived of it—nor of his faith, the faith of Barbara, his intercessor in the "realm of the mothers."<sup>2</sup>

Since a very distinct function is assigned the poet and his art in Werfel's plan, it will be necessary, before we enter upon the discussion of Werfel's eschatological ideas, to establish a definition of them. Already, in his earliest writings, we find a strongly pronounced missionary, or even Messianic, concept of the two. It is Werfel's credo that the poet must forever stir man out of his materialistic lethargy and self-satisfaction and his acceptance of this world as the only and final world, that is, forever remind him of that gold that is buried within him. It is his concept of the poet's art that it should present the eternal mysteries in the guise of symbols and allegories.<sup>3</sup> Hence, it is the poet's lot to be called and chosen. He is not the product of his own free will, any more than is a saint or a prophet. This feeling—more than that, this conviction—of being the uncomprehending tool of a higher power is one of the earliest as well as most fundamental poetic "Urerlebnisse" of Werfel to which he gives this still rather groping expression:

Ich fühle stets in mir ein hohes Wissen,  
Das richtend über aller Handlung schwebt,  
Das unbewegt sich ewig überhebt,  
Und nicht Verstand ist, Seele, noch Gewissen.<sup>4</sup>

Though the articulation given to the poet's mission may vary within a limited orbit, in the course of Werfel's development the essential idea remains ever the same: to reveal in symbols Divine truth as it is imparted to him beyond his own control or desire. At first this still undefined force within him fills him with joy and pride, and he

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also: Israel S. Stamm, "Religious Experience in Werfel's *Barbara*," *PMLA*, LIV (1939), 348 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. this author's "Allegory in Werfel's *Das Opfer* and *Jacobowsky and the Colonel*," *Germanic Review*, XX (1945), 205, quoting from *Dramaturgie und Deutung des Zauberspiels Spiegelmensch* (München: Kurt Wolff Verlag, 1921). Also, above article, p. 195, quoting from *Between Heaven and Earth* (New York, 1944), p. 250.—Noteworthy, also, is Werfel's statement (*ibid.*, p. 220) that in every great work of literature a lofty theological symbolism can be discerned. The importance of maintaining the mystery in art is most poignantly expressed in the following entry from the unpublished Florentine Notebook of May, 1928: "Der Wert eines Kunstwerks ist seine Symbolkarätigkeit, seine Bodenständigkeit im Geheimnis. Größter Feind dieser Karätigkeit ist das ausgeschwatzte Geheimnis und der zwinkernde Hinweis auf es. (Schulfall: meine ersten Dramen). . . . Unschuld des Symbols: Das Absichtslose!"

<sup>4</sup> *Der Weltfreund* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 58.

gladly accepts the mission announced to him by the Archangel in *Die Versuchung*, having successfully withstood Lucifer's temptations of power and thrills to which, later, Thamal in *Spiegelmensch* succumbs: "Nun weißt du ganz, daß dein Reich von dieser Welt nicht von dieser Welt ist. . . . Und in dieser Welt der Gesandte, der Mittler, der Versmähte zu sein ist dein Schicksal . . . denn du bist der unsrigen, der unendlichen Geister einer."<sup>8</sup> In spite of this projected fate of loneliness, he accepts his mission joyously, for he still believes in the possibility of God's kingdom on earth, and hence in a personal Messianism which can bring it about. However, latent doubts about the course to be taken must have existed early, for we can discern a strong indication of a future direction in a passage of his unpublished *Bozener Tagebuch* of 1915. Here the injured soldier Werfel is discussing the prospects of his future with a Catholic sister-nurse. Though his attitude toward the Church is, on the whole, negative, she senses something in him which prompts her to advise him: "Sie haben vielleicht eine Aufgabe, die Ihnen vorbehalten ist. Der Himmel scheint sich für Sie zu interessieren." But as far as he is concerned: "Die Kirche reicht für meinen Verstand nicht mehr aus. Ich verurteile sie. Sie ist eine Feindin Gottes. Von Menschen erschaffen, um über den Menschen mächtig zu sein." However, in her eyes the Church is God's "Hinterlassenschaft seines Wandels," vouchsafed by the Scriptures and the words of Peter as the rock. To his exclamation: "Ich kann nicht gläubig sein," the Sister answers: "Dann würden Sie auch nicht lebendig freudig und schmerzlich sein können."

As the doubts grow and irreconcilable contradictions between philosophy and the actual world arise, the poet's mission threatens to become an oppressive burden, too heavy to be carried by a mere human being who, in spite of his lofty task, loves life too much, and often and ardently longs for the joys and sorrows of the ordinary man. These burdens are primarily of a twofold nature: the inevitable ostracism of the prophet and the torments within his mind in trying to find a solution to the problem of man's true happiness and his final redemption. Werfel finds the classical formula for these doubts in the motto of the third part of *Der Stern der Ungeborenen*: "Es gibt zwei Grundarten von Engeln. Die einen halfen dem Menschen von Anfang an, die Erde wohnlich einzurichten. Die andern verhiinderten ihn daran. Die Menschheit ist noch lange nicht reif genug, damit man ihr enthülle, welche von diesen Engeln die guten sind und welche die bösen."<sup>9</sup> The poet pleads with God to free him from this mission, for he is human and, therefore, impure and weak. But God's choice is inscrutable. He chooses prophets and saints and poets ac-

<sup>8</sup> *Die Versuchung. Ein Gespräch*, "Der Jüngste Tag, I" (Leipzig, 1913), p. 29.

<sup>9</sup> P. 449.

cording to his own intelligence. He chooses a Jeremiah and he chooses a Bernadette. Werfel formulates this dispute between God and his unwilling prophet in his novel *Höret die Stimme*, where, in describing the prophet, Werfel writes his own confession. Jeremiah, in spite of his sensitive and retiring character, goes forth against his own nature to proclaim the Divine message to obdurate ears and obstinate hearts: "Dieser Prophet war ein empfindsamer Mann, der in schonungslosem Widerspruch stand zu seiner Welt und Zeit. Er war ein scheuer Mann, den auch die einleuchtenden und Macht gebietenden Irrtümer dieser Erde nicht gebeugt haben. Denn er gehorchte keinem anderen als der Stimme Gottes, die in ihm und zu ihm sprach."<sup>7</sup> And also Jeeves, the modern reincarnation of the prophet, knows upon awakening from his epileptic trance: "daß es eine seiner Aufgaben sein wird, zu zeigen, daß es Größe nur gegen die Welt gibt, und niemals mit der Welt. Daß die ewig Besiegten die ewigen Sieger sind und daß die Stimme wirklicher ist als der Lärm."<sup>8</sup>

Having realized the inescapability of the call, the poet humbly asks to be allowed to be the Divine pen, freed of his own thoughts and doubts which inevitably must lead him astray:

Wenn ich schreibe, Herr, sei ich Dein Stift,  
Tauch mich in mein Blut, als Deine Feder,  
Wolle schreiben mich mit schönster Schrift.

Denn mein eigner Sinn ist voll Entweder  
Und voll Oder, voll Sowohl-Als auch,  
Stören und verstören kann mich Jeder.

Aber wenn ich in den Winterrauch  
Durch das Fenster starre ins Vertagen  
So wie jetzt, belebt mich fremder Hauch.

Überm Blatt vernehm ich Dein Weissagen  
Flüsternd zu Dir selbst. Leicht wird mein Leib,  
Denn er ist durchdrungen und getragen . . . .

Herr, hier bin ich! Faß mich an und schreib!<sup>9</sup>

Werfel gives what is perhaps the best definition of his own mission in *Der Stern der Ungeborenen*. There some of the "Thaumazonten" or "Verwunderer," the third degree of the order of "Chronosophers," whose calling it is to unravel empirically the

<sup>7</sup> *Höret die Stimme* (Wien, 1937), p. 755.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 755.

<sup>9</sup> "Gebet in der Dämmerung" from *Schlaf und Erwachen* (Wien, 1935), p. 96. In this connection it might be interesting to note that in the original (later discarded) unpublished autobiographical version of the scene in Chapter XV of *Der Stern der Ungeborenen* where F. W. has the opportunity to ask what was the most incisive moment in his life, an episode during the First World War is brought out, in which, instead of being murdered, F. W. is spared, for fate had a higher purpose in store for him. Significantly enough, Werfel changes this motif in his manuscript and substitutes for the moment of fatal selection that of contrite guilt, i.e., his indifference toward his own son, the same sin which, finally, condemns Thamal in *Spiegelmensch*.

mysteries of the universe,<sup>10</sup> set out among their fellow men, upon their return from their star roving, to "lockern die Dichtigkeit ihres Erdensinns" and to "lehren sie zu unterscheiden zwischen dem Wichtigen und Unwichtigen und unterweisen sie in der Kunst sich als Teil des Ganzen zu denken und zu fühlen."<sup>11</sup> Dante, upon his return to the earthly paradise from his vision of God, expresses a kindred thought when he writes: "Aber schon bewegte meinen Wunsch und meinen Willen, wie ein sich gleichmäßiges Rad, die Liebe, die die Sonne und die anderen Sterne treibt!"<sup>12</sup> He uses here the symbolism of Divine love as the moving power of the universe, a thought to which we shall return presently.

Allegorically, Werfel presents the high mission of art in his *Bernadette* novel. This book is not only the touching story of a saint, but, according to Werfel's own words, it depicts in the person of Bernadette, symbolically, true Divine poesy. Hence she, being what she is, can discover the miraculous source and can prove the miracle to her people. She sees clearer with her freshly washed eyes because she is pure and innocent and not self-seeking. She can perceive the essence, because she is the "Ursprüngliche," the "Ur-Sprung" of poesy, sprung from the Divine source which she alone can see. Guided by the "beautiful lady," she smears her face with dirt and eats of the bitter herbs to show her people, through her unshakable faith, the prime source, the prime essence, the final truth, if they will only recognize it. She alone, as God's true vessel, perceives beauty which is of Divine origin. And hers is that Divine grace which can only be given, and not gained, as her teacher and antagonist would gain it.

Bernadette's faith is the pure faith of a child. Even a casual reader of Werfel's work, and particularly of his poems, cannot but notice the constantly recurring motif of nostalgic memory of a lost childhood. Several interpretations of this phenomenon are possible,<sup>13</sup> but the one that seems most important here is biographical. On more than one occasion so far we have been able to point to Werfel's concept

<sup>10</sup> Chronosophy is the science of overcoming the obstacles of space and time.—The four degrees of the "Sternwanderer" are strangely reminiscent of the four stages of the mystic rites of Eleusis: Katharsis—Purification; Plotismos—Enlightenment; Teleisis—Fulfillment; Theosis—Deification. Cf. *Between Heaven and Earth*, p. 188; cf. also in *Dramaturgie und Deutung des Zauberspiels Spiegelmensch* the definition of "die dritte Schau," the class "der Meister, der Erkorenen, der Stifter, und Genies . . . die unter dem Gesetz der Gnade leben. Sie sehen nicht nur transegoistisch die höhere Wirklichkeit, in ihnen lebt auch die theurgische Kraft, die . . . verzerrte Wirklichkeit des Lebens . . . zu ihr selber zurückzuführen und . . . die träumende Gottheit zu erwecken."

<sup>11</sup> P. 345.

<sup>12</sup> Dantes *Göttliche Komödie* (Deutsch von Paul Pochhammer; Leipzig, 1913), Par. XXXIII, p. 142. This Plotinian symbolism of love as the motivating cosmic force plays an important part in *Der Stern der Ungeborenen*.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. this author's "Gottesidee und Erlösungsproblem beim jungen Werfel," *Germanic Review*, XIV (1939).



of childhood, especially his own, as that stage where, by the sheer capacity for pure faith, man is in complete harmony with the universe and its Creator, and therefore truly happy. Not without reason does Christ ask to let the children come unto him; and similarly Tolstoy seeks the simple, unintellectual faith of the childlike Russian peasant. In his *Barbara*—and by no means only there—Werfel shows the very deep impression that early visits to Catholic churches and attendance at Mass in company of the simple servant made upon the child Ferdinand. Barbara is not a fictitious character. Werfel, too, had a Barbara who, at long last, had been able to do for Werfel what her namesake had done for Ferdinand. Werfel told me that one of the earliest recollections of his childhood play was improvising an altar and performing a divine service. As a child he had the child's unquestioning pure faith which, in spite of his superficial Jewish background, was essentially that of Barbara; as a child he knew true happiness as only a child can know it.

With the awakening intellect, doubts set in, and at one time he sees Christianity as a negative religion, because it cannot envisage the achievement of God's kingdom on earth: "Während zum Beispiel das Judentum von dem Jünger den Glauben an ein endliches Paradies auf Erden fordert, verlangt das Christentum von der Vernunft nichts anderes als den Glauben an überirdische Einflüsse nach und in der Existenz Christi, was, wie man mir beipflichten dürfte, viel weniger ist."<sup>14</sup>

Out of his deep compassion and love, which embrace all of creation and include even God himself, young Werfel strives for a philosophy which can make this earth a place of happiness for all. He desperately wants to believe in the reality of mankind's eternal dream of a perfect world. For a time he sees the possibility of its achievement by political means, and this factor explains, more than anything else, his temporary excursion into the radical camps of Activism and Communism. But it is more than significant that even then, in the days of the "Red Guard" in Vienna, he was close to a group of young, primarily Jewish, intellectuals who tried to win the day under the slogan: "Long live Communism and the Catholic Church."

Werfel's short stay in the camp of radicals is to be attributed to two main sources: first, the misunderstanding of their politico-materialistic eschatology, and second, a misguided youthful sympathy with suffering humanity, fanned by the terrible experience of the First World War. The unbridgeable gulf that separates him from the protagonists of political panaceas of the day becomes clearly

<sup>14</sup> From the unpublished Leipzig Notebook, 1913. To this author's knowledge this is the only instance where Werfel seems to waver—undoubtedly from a momentary impulse—in his otherwise complete affirmation of Christianity.



evident from his letter to Kurt Hiller in which he breaks with the latter's doctrine of Activism and professes a spiritual form of anarchism. This letter, written in a notebook from the Russian Front at Hodow, in 1917, under the title of *Schlußwort von der christlichen Sendung*, is a prophetic document. In it he not only draws a sharp distinction between his convictions and Hiller's, but also makes some searching statements about the political nature of the German people which assume added significance today.

Unsere Debatte ist die Frucht eines unterschiedlichen Lebensgefühls, das mich vor Jahr und Tag antrieb in einer Kritik des Aktivismus mein Bekenntnis zum Anarchismus abzulegen.<sup>15</sup> Lassen Sie mich eine geo-ethnographische Wahrheit sagen, die mir richtig scheint. Sie sind in Preußen aufgewachsen und sind ein Sohn der Mitte Europas. Ich bin in einer Stadt<sup>16</sup> geboren, die dadurch, daß sie von Slaven und Juden bewohnt wird, immer ein Tor des Ostens war. Das Schicksal unsrer Geburt ist gewiß nicht gleichgültig, wenn auch ein irrsinniger Internationalismus, der aus der gleichen kapitalistischen Unwirklichkeit geboren ist, wie der europäische Nationalismus, dies zu behaupten wagt. . . . Das Paradies der Gesetze ist eine *Civitas dei*, während das Paradies des Anarchisten eine *Societas dei* ist. Der Staat auch in Ihrer Definition ist etwas durchaus Negatives. Sie definieren den Staat als die Verhinderung der ewiglich durch die elementaren Instinkte hervorgerufene Gleichgewichtsstörung des Zusammenlebens. Der Pessimismus dieser Auffassung ist klar. *Er leugnet die messianische Möglichkeit einer durch Erkenntnis und Liebe vereinigten Gemeinschaft der Menschheit.*<sup>17</sup> . . . Warum predigen Sie den Deutschen wiederum den Staat, den Deutschen, die einen Magier brauchten, der sie von dem Mißglauben erlöste, daß man dem Leben alles kommandieren könne, daß die Natur wie ein Schneeball zu formen sei. Deutschland, das Land der Millionen Organisationen, hat sehr viel Aktivität. Was ihm fehlt ist Entschlossenheit, Hingabe, Opfermut, das beleidigte, zerdrückte Leben an seinen Beleidigern zu rächen.

This passage shows the unique blending of religious fervor and social thinking. It also throws a significant light on the origins of the typical sympathy of Werfel. His all-embracing love springs from the metaphysical consciousness of a common source and a common destination which is predicated on the incomprehensible fact of existence; for only that which exists can partake of God's love and final redemption. The very fact that man prefers existence to non-existence is a cogent proof of a living Divinity, as Werfel states repeatedly, and particularly in *Der Stern der Ungeborenen*. Herein can be found the core of the *Wir Sind* idea, which, shortly before he died, Werfel explained by the symbol of the railroad station. This motif recurs constantly in his writings and plays an important role in his last novel. It is the expectant, half-timid, half-anxious feeling of people, all strangers, all self-enclosed islands, whom chance brings together, and who are all waiting for the same train, each one with

<sup>15</sup> When arrested in Vienna after the revolution in 1918, Werfel called himself a "Tolstojaner," as he was being interrogated on his party affiliation.

<sup>16</sup> Prague.

<sup>17</sup> Italics mine.

sealed orders. And as the train pulls out, they have the fleeting vision of a mother with her child at her breast, Werfel's symbol of the constant renewal of God's promise and man's Messianic hope.<sup>18</sup> It is this feeling of a common fate and a common mystery that is his *Wir Sind*. There is no trace of pantheism in his concept of earth as a part of the same *Wir Sind*. Earth must be understood in its planetary sense with all its cosmological implications.

As must have become clear by now, Werfel at no time wavers in his belief in God, a belief which embraces, from the very beginning, both testaments as true Divine revelation.<sup>19</sup> Since the harmonious, undivided, believing ego of the child has been split into a duality of faith and mind, Werfel tries to grasp intellectually what was previously part of him naively. In his speculations about God and creation he reiterates his complete acceptance of Christianity without, however, abandoning the faith into which he was born, for this, too, is part of the Divine plan. In justifying this acceptance, Werfel says in his early essay *Die christliche Sendung*:

Von allen Lehren, die der Welt gesendet waren, ist die christliche vielleicht die einzige, die das Ich bis ins Letzte bejaht, denn sie erhebt es zum höchsten Schauplatz des höchsten Kampfes. Sie ist die einzige Lehre, die auf wahrhafte Wirklichkeit gegründet ist, wie ihre Richtung von unten nach oben und nicht umgekehrt ist. Das Wesen der christlichen Sendung ist es, den Menschen immer wieder unerbittlich zur Realität zurückzuführen. Hierin berührt sie sich mit der Sendung der Poesie. . . . An Gott kann man glauben, weil Gott keine Abstraktion ist.<sup>20</sup>

What is that "höchster Kampf," that struggle, of which Werfel speaks? In discussing this question we are moving in a world of ideas which are related to those of Plotinus, St. Thomas, and some of the other patristic philosophers. In Werfel's philosophy, to man alone is given the power of understanding the mystery of creation, or rather, of yearning to understand it. The world before its creation rested in the perfect being. With the separation of creation from the creator, a void is left in the creator on the one hand, and on the other hand there arises in creation an "epistrophe," a longing to return to the source whence it came. In making man, God has given him the free will to choose between good and evil, and from man's choice of evil comes original sin. God as the absolute perfection cannot take back his creation, for now it is polluted, and even the slightest imperfection would vitiate the absolute perfection of God. Therefore, in order to cleanse his creation and thus make it ready for its re-

<sup>18</sup> Half jokingly Werfel added that it is the same feeling expressed in the Austrian song: "Ja, mir sein halt Landsleut, Linzerische Buben."

<sup>19</sup> Cf. the author's "Gottesidee. . . ."

<sup>20</sup> "Christliche Sendung. Offener Brief an Kurt Hiller," *Tätiger Geist. Zweites der Ziel-Jahrbücher* (hrsg. v. K. Hiller, 1917/18), pp. 202-21. Also in *Neue Rundschau*, Jan., 1917.

turn,<sup>21</sup> God makes several attempts to lead man back on the righteous path. In his revealing poem "Der Tempel" in *Der Gerichtstag*, Werfel speaks of the three Divine trials since time and space were born: "Kleines Brett Noahs," "Binsenkorb Mosis," and "Holzspanne der Krippe"; in Noah he symbolizes salvation from Divine wrath, in Moses salvation by Divine law, and in Christ salvation by Divine love.<sup>22</sup> With the giving of his own Son, God has made his greatest sacrifice for man, and now it is man's turn to redeem God by redeeming himself.<sup>23</sup> In this way God, too, is included in Werfel's universal sympathy and cosmic redemption. This much now for Werfel's earlier theology.

However, there is still another aspect of the God-Son relation, which, though not part of the accepted belief of the Church, is deeply rooted in mythologies and apocryphal writings. Closely connected with the problem of redemption is the father-son problem which, translated from the human plane to the divine, brings us to Werfel's Lucifer concept. Werfel was among the first to introduce the father-son conflict into Expressionism. The famous poem "Vater und Sohn," the novel *Nicht der Mörder, der Ermordete ist schuldig*, *Spiegelmensch*, and numerous other works are ample proof of Werfel's absorbing and abiding interest in the problem. In contrast to such contemporaries as Hasenclever, Kornfeld, and others, who were primarily attracted by the struggle of the generations, Werfel, in the above mentioned poem, "Vater und Sohn"<sup>24</sup>—the first modern treatment of the problem—sees it *a priori* in its metaphysical implications and raises it to an allegory. His Lucifer is the eternal son, the impatient heir, the Promethean, for whom, in his rebellious identification with the cause of creation, God's mills grind too slowly, and who, therefore, sets out on his own to correct the world. The parallelism of this kind of Lucifer and Werfel's earlier endeavors—neither free from guilt and therefore both foredoomed—seems obvious. Lucifer, as the self-appointed savior—this distant cousin and opposite of Mephistopheles—always strives for good and achieves evil while acting, ostensibly, at least, from sympathy, which can be interpreted as love. But is unselfish love really the only motivation for his action? Are there no other self-seeking reasons hidden behind this screen of love? At least in part, this sympathy tries to cover up the ancient mythological crime, the son's desire to overcome the

<sup>21</sup> Cf. the author's "Gottesidee . . .," p. 192.

<sup>22</sup> An important variation of this symbolism is found in the allegorical figures of the *Arbeiter*, closely related to the Worker in Plotinus, the Jew Io-Saul, and the Grandbishop, with their symbolical foods of cheese and water, milk and honey, and bread and wine, in *Der Stern der Ungeborenen*.

<sup>23</sup> "Zwiesgespräch an der Mauer des Paradieses," *Einander* (München, 1915).

<sup>24</sup> *Wir Sind* (München, 1913).

father, the crime of the fallen angel, of Lucifer.<sup>25</sup> In man these traits take on the features of the savior-complex, which Werfel considers the greatest of all vanities, the blackest of all sins.

The Lucifer allegory is one of Werfel's favorite themes. The very basic idea of the "astromental" world in *Der Stern der Ungeborenen* is, in the above sense, a Luciferous idea. For here man has almost succeeded in achieving a material paradise on earth—almost. He has freed himself of all bondage, of work, of war, of "economy," of problems of race, creed, and state; even death has become a beautiful act of voluntary retrogeneration—or so it would seem. But even this most perfect of worlds crumbles, for the Lucifers cannot win. Werfel has shown this in many cases, some of which have already been mentioned. Such Luciferous characters—who, it must be remembered, measured by standards of human morals, are by no means necessarily evil—are Thamal in *Spiegelmensch*, Juvan in *Der Bocksgesang*, Prokop in *Das Reich Gottes in Böhmen*, Maximilian in *Juarez und Maximilian*, Wagner in *Verdi*, Weiss in *Barbara*, Placido in *Die Geschwister von Neapel*, Io-Do and Io-Joel in *Der Stern der Ungeborenen*, and others. It seems self-evident that, for Werfel, in the politico-social world this phenomenon will assume the features of Fascism and Communism and other attempts at "Volksbeglückung."

The element of the prodigal son enters when at times there arises a protagonist of the father principle. In spite of his diametrical polarity, he recognizes in his opponent the intrinsically ethical motive, and, therefore, loves him as his erring brother. Werfel sees in this love of the enemy not just a Christian virtue, but rather the transformation of a *Gegensatzpaar* into an *Ergänzungspaar*; that is, he sees in the antagonists the two component parts of one positive force, rather than two opposing forces contending for power. For, in Werfel's philosophy, "the basic formula of all sin is: frustrated or neglected love."<sup>26</sup> Some examples of such complementary halves among the works of Werfel are: Prokop and Julian (*Das Reich Gottes in Böhmen*), Maximilian and Juarez (*Juarez und Maximilian*), Wagner and Verdi (*Verdi*), Stjerbinsky and Jacobowsky (*Jacobowsky und der Oberst*).

Let us now return to Werfel's concept of Christianity. By Christ's becoming a man and suffering the fate of the Agnus Dei, the sacrifice of love, God's Son becomes the mediator between man and God and identifies himself with the fate of man.<sup>27</sup> "Gott muß Mensch werden,

<sup>25</sup> An interesting Satanic version of the Lucifer motif can be seen in the very significant novel-fragment "Die Schwarze Messe," *Genius. Zeitschrift für werdende und alte Kunst* (München, 1920), II, 255 ff.

<sup>26</sup> *Between Heaven and Earth*, p. 189.

<sup>27</sup> A possible allegorical presentation of this act may be seen in the sacrificial death of Bagradian's son in *Die Vierzig Tage des Musa Dagh*. The boy, the offspring of a mixed marriage between an Armenian and a French-

um in Erscheinung zu treten. Die Grenze ist die Bedingung der Offenbarung."<sup>28</sup> With Christ's sacrifice, the Old Testament world of law has been superseded by the world of love. Werfel analyses this most crucial moment of the history of the Jew in his unpublished notes to *Paulus unter den Juden* as follows:

Der große Augenblick des Judentums. Es beginnt die Welt zu sich zu bekehren. Das Gesetz (noch nationaler Besitzteil) kann aber nicht siegen. Deshalb kommt Jesus, der das Gesetz allmenschlich interpretiert, damit aber zugleich in der Folge das Judentum aufhebt. . . . Der Messias ist erschienen, und hat durch seinen Opfertod das Gesetz abgelöst. Die jetzige Zeit steht jenseits des Gesetzes, ist eine Ausnahme, eine Zwischenzeit, wie die Zeit von Adam bis Mose. Der Sinn und das Wesen dieser Zeit ist einzig, sich auf die Perusia des Christus und somit auf die Auferstehung der Toten vorzubereiten.

But what is now the fate of the Jew? Having refused God's offer of the Messiah, he has accepted a new mission, forever to bear living witness to Christ's reality and to assume the role of the Agnus. As long as the world exists, the Jew will have to play his part in the eschatological drama. That part will end only on the Day of Judgment, when the Heathen-Christians—that is, the non-Jewish Christians, with whom God builds his Church—have become true Christians. Then, at last, after the antagonists have become brothers, they can return to their Father.<sup>29</sup> That this process of coexistence must go on forever Werfel shows in *Der Stern der Ungeborenen*, where in the greatly advanced and sophisticated world of a hundred thousand years hence only two religions survive, the Christian, which by that time has become exclusively Catholic as the only true Christian faith, and the Jewish, represented by Io-Saul, "the Jew of the age."

The final return of creation to the Creator is frustrated by the existence of evil, of sin. Where is its inception to be found? If the theologian Werfel accepts the Biblical statement of the fall of man as a symbol, then the interpretation of this symbol calls for more than one answer. The solution may be sought in the Thomist conception of the origin of sin in matter. Or it can be answered with the mature Werfel's broad statement: "Sin reaches from the supernatural order to which it belongs as a mystery into the very midst of our natural existence."<sup>30</sup> It has already been stated above that for the younger Werfel sin springs from man's abuse of his Divine freedom of will and his deliberate choice of evil. In his *Theologumena*<sup>31</sup> he

woman, identifies himself with the Armenian people who, though they respect and honor Bagradian, feel a certain insurmountable barrier between themselves and him. The logic of such an interpretation was admitted by Werfel to the author.

<sup>28</sup> "Substantiv und Verbum. Notiz zu einer Poetik," *Aktion*, VII (1917), 8.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *Between Heaven and Earth*, pp. 195 ff. Also the author's "Allegory in Werfel . . .," where the attempt is made to establish an allegory of this type of redemptive action.

<sup>30</sup> *Between Heaven and Earth*, p. 178.

<sup>31</sup> Last part of *op. cit.*

reaffirms this belief and states that "by the gift of freedom God has overestimated man, because this gift includes within itself the temptation to disorder and disobedience, that is the Fall of Man." But, Werfel continues, "Alas, it is the very overestimation of man by God that really makes man."<sup>32</sup> In a further attempt at explanation, Werfel speaks of "das ewig unerbittliche Bewußstein vom Schöpfungsfehler" and "die lebendige Erkenntnis vom obersten Mißlungeneffizienten."<sup>33</sup> Or could the source of sin be found in the fact that God created the world out of chaos, out of nothing?

Gott schuf die Welt aus dem *Nichts!*  
 Drum frage nicht länger, woran gebrichts,  
 Daß alles Leben so eilig verdunstet,  
 Daß die Tat unsres Tages am Abend umsunstet,  
 Daß jede Stunde voll Stacheln der Schuld ist,  
 Daß die Wollust selbst noch voll Ungeduld ist . . . ?  
 Gott schuf uns aus *Nichts!* Da bleibt keine Wahl,  
 Der Mangel liegt ewig im Material.<sup>34</sup>

We are not done yet with all the possible questions and answers. Since God created man in his image, why is there imperfection in the image? The answer lies partly in the vanity of wanting an image ("In meinem Spiegelbild liegt der Irrtum"<sup>35</sup>), partly in the fact that the image must remain only an image and therefore can never be identical with the subject it reflects, any more than an expression can be identical with the idea it expresses: "Die Welt selbst ist die Sprache, die Gott spricht. Deshalb ist die Welt unvollkommen, weil vollkommen nur das Sein, niemals der Ausdruck des Seins sein kann."<sup>36</sup> Since, in spite of all trials, the "Mißlungeneffizient" remains constant, Werfel, in *Der Stern der Ungeborenen*, plays with the dangerous idea that God periodically corrects his creation—dangerous because then man no longer would bear the entire re-

<sup>32</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 183.

<sup>33</sup> "Brief an einen Staatsmann," *Das Ziel. Aufrufe zum tätigen Geist* (München, 1916).

<sup>34</sup> Unpublished poem, "Sinngedicht vom Mangel," 1935.

<sup>35</sup> "Erschaffung der Musik," *Der neue Daimon*, Werfel-Sonderheft (Wien, 1919).

<sup>36</sup> "Brief an den Abgeordneten Georg Davidsohn," *Aktion*, VII (1917), n. 11/12. The same idea is also expressed in *Theologumena* and particularly in *Der Stern der Ungeborenen*, pp. 169 ff.: "Gott ist das vollkommene Sein. Die Schöpfung ist nur Ausdruck dieses Seins. Der Ausdruck eines Seins kann niemals identisch sein mit diesem Sein, aus dem er hervortritt. Er ist nicht einmal ein Bruchteil dieses Seins, sondern nur partielle Mitteilung, so wie das Wort, das Weinen, das Lachen des Menschen kein Bruchteil seiner selbst ist, sondern nichts als ausgeatmeter Allgemeinbesitz, nämlich Luft. Wenn Gott auch das ewige und vollkommene Sein bedeutet, so ist sein Ausdruck, die Schöpfung, in hohem Grade unvollkommen, und zwar notwendigerweise. Die genaue Differenz zwischen dem vollkommenen unendlichen Sein und dem von diesem ausgedrückten endlichen unvollkommenen Sein ist das, was man das Übel in der Welt, oder auch das Böse nennt."—Here Werfel adds, however, that for the Church such thoughts are heresies, "die den Sündenfall teilweise Gott als notwendige Folge des Schöpfungsaktes zur Last legen."



sponsibility for his deeds: "Gott korrigiert sich selbst. Ein Teil der göttlichen Lebenstätigkeit ist korrigieren, am Ausdruck feilen."<sup>87</sup>

Or again, is life on earth already punishment and hell, without man's realizing it? This thought occurs to Werfel rather early. In *Traum aus einer neuen Hölle*, an unpublished fragment of an epic poem in the spirit and form of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, written in Bozen in 1915, he has the vision of a godless, socialized world of which man is very proud, not knowing that he is living in hell. This idea returns twenty-three years later in Paris in the unpublished fragment *Beim Anblick eines Toten*—in some respects a forerunner of *Der Stern der Ungeborenen*—written on the occasion of the tragic accidental death of the gifted young author and friend of Werfel, Oedön von Horváth. Upon hearing in the Requiem the words "porta inferni," Werfel raises the question: Where is that gate? Does the answer not depend on what we call reality?

Der Mensch sieht sich immer als Wesen der Mitte. Unendlich über seinem Zustand erhebt er die Seligkeit, unendlich unter seinem Zustand versenkt er die Verdammnis. Dort, wo er steht, ist immer nur die Gewöhnung und der Alltag, die beiden Mächte, aus denen gebraut ist, was er Wirklichkeit nennt. Wie aber, wenn diese Wirklichkeit, unser irdisches Leben, ein ganz und gar extremer Zustand wäre, der durch die Macht der Gewöhnung, d.h. zugleich durch die Macht der Vergleichlosigkeit als selbstverständlich, unabänderlich und einzig möglich hingenommen wird?! Die eschatologische Frage lautet: Gibt es eine Verdammnis ohne Bewußtsein von ihr selbst? Ist die Hölle noch Hölle, wenn ihre Bewohner nicht wissen, daß sie darin sind?

There is one further important interpretation of the origin of sin which will lead presently to a discussion of cosmology. In the unpublished poem, "Geheimnis," Werfel employs his familiar and variously used symbolism of light to explain the fall of creation. In spite of his antagonism to certain scientists of the know-all variety, he makes use of some of the arguments of astrophysics in order to establish his point. The first attribute of creation is light. It must fall into the darkness of pre-creation in order to call forth creation. As it falls, it is ever further removed from its source, hence, ever greater grows its epistrophe:

Daß diese Erd ein Not- und Strafort sei,  
—Wie oft hab ichs gedacht,  
Stieß mir ins Herz des Lebens Todesschrei.

<sup>87</sup> *Der Stern der Ungeborenen*, p. 170. Just as God is better than his creation, so, conversely, the poem is frequently better than the poet. Later on in the novel Werfel states: "Oft argwöhne ich, daß der Autor der Weltgeschichte durchaus kein Improvisator sei. . . . Er bereitet sein Manuskript wohl vor. . . . Änderungen, Strichen, Korrekturen und der Freiheit des Handelns ist darin kein weiterer Raum gegönnt als dem Druckfehlerteufel in einem Buch" (p. 486). The word "Druckfehlerteufel" is an interesting example of Werfel's frequent use of *Doppelbödigkeit*, playing with the twofold meaning of the word "teufel" in this expression.

In seinem Sonnenzustand nur als Licht  
 —Ich ahn es mehr und mehr,  
 Ist unser Lebensstoff erst selig eigentlich.

Doch hier ist alles Fall. Das Licht es fiel,  
 —Tief fühlt ichs jüngst bei Nacht;  
 Selbst das Atom des Wasserstoffs muß ins Exil.

Was will der Wille, der dies Urteil spricht?  
 —Oh hoher Trost! Er will,  
 Daß, was einst Licht war, werde heiliger Licht!

Could we possibly deduce from the above that the whole impulse of creation emanates from a transgression? With this question we have arrived at Werfel's cosmogony. Quoting Sir James Jeans as authority, Werfel speaks of "the streaming into space of radiant energy" as the origin of the cosmos. This energy is light. Emanating from its Divine source, it falls, and in falling becomes matter as its density grows. Since it cannot fall into nothing, it creates space as it falls. And since in falling it leaves distance behind, it creates time, which is the measure of distance of the fall. As its density grows with the distance, it must be assumed that all creation is matter in varying degree of density. The epistrophe of this matter is strong where its density is light, as is the case with man. "Matter [radiant energy] which in the course of universal time crystallized into the intellectual, spiritual, human personality comes from God and returns home to God. . . . Out of this conviction flows the most singular of all comforts: nothing can happen to us, for although forsaken upon the doorstep of time, like foundlings, we are God's own children in eternity."<sup>88</sup> This means that man's soul, as the fallen light, having sprung from God, will return to God from the exile into which all creation has been thrown by separation and fall.

Matter need not be visible or even physical in our sense of the word. In *Der Stern der Ungeborenen* Werfel establishes the existence of angels, and we learn that they, too, are material, but of a matter which existed before the world came into being and will exist after the world no longer is. Their matter, like that of Milton's angels, in contrast to cosmic matter, is capable of assuming all forms and guises to make it visible to man, whenever they choose. Otherwise, being of pre-cosmic nature and consisting of proto-matter, they cannot be refracted in the spectrum nor perceived by any means other than spiritual.

From the idea that all creation is matter in varying degrees of density and that it emanates from the same Divine source, Werfel, using science again to corroborate his faith, proceeds to the con-

<sup>88</sup> *Between Heaven and Earth*, p. 171. This thought is already anticipated to a large degree in the poem "Das Licht und das Schweigen" in *Der Gerichtstag*.—One of Werfel's last plans was to write a drama, which, judging from the scanty fragment, might well have been an allegorical treatment of this founding idea.



clusion that the earth is the predestined theater of the drama of redemption and man the main actor. Whence does Werfel obtain his knowledge that it has been decided in a higher plan to appoint the planet earth to this formidable mission? Carefully correlating astrophysical theories with his own metaphysical convictions, Werfel derives scientific proof for his intuitive knowledge born of faith. Stars are suns, he argues, not unlike our own sun. As "white-hot gaseous spheres," they represent the only form of matter extant in the universe, a matter which is very different from the kind known on earth. Not even atoms, let alone organic matter, can exist under such enormous pressure as prevails in them. Therefore, they disintegrate into their components, protons and electrons, which in turn are projected into space as waves and rays. Stars are "unfaßbar dünne Verdichtungen gewisser Urstoffe in Kugelform, rasende Wirbel geplatzter Atome in rätselhaft eruptiver Lebenstätigkeit begriffen."<sup>39</sup> We shall soon see a similar description of the sun in *Der Stern der Ungeborenen*. Since the stars possess this tremendously vital activity, could they possibly be motivated by a will, a purpose, a plan of their own? That is to say, could they possibly be "mentally alive bodies, personalities"? Other periods of human history whose mentality was radically different from ours certainly believed it, and ancient mythologies recognized in the celestial bodies the visible forms of their gods.<sup>40</sup> The Gnostics saw in them the "heavenly hosts in material form, whose glowing, eruptive vital activity represents nothing but the great hymn of praise with which the angels eternally celebrate the Creator."<sup>41</sup> Being inorganic matter, the stars are charged with positive or negative electricity, and may very well, therefore, as personalities be either masculine or feminine. "Der Hochschwebende," the highest authority of the "Chronosophers," gives Werfel the final corroboration of these ideas in *Der Stern der Ungeborenen*. From the same source he also learns what he has suspected for many years, namely, that the universe has human shape, is anthropomorphic, and is androgynous—is married to itself:

Das hat F. W. schon als Jüngling sich gedacht, und später beim Propheten Ezechiel und im Adam Kadmon des kabbalistischen Buches Sohar, dem kosmischen Adam, dem Menschen als Himmel, und dem Himmel als Menschen, der die Erstlingsschöpfung Gottes gewesen sei, wiederholt gefunden. Wir befinden uns im Herzen oder im Nabel einer Menschengestalt, die aus bewegten Gestirnen und Gestirnnebeln besteht wie wir selbst aus bewegten Unikeln, Achats und Monalen [atomic terms used in *Der Stern der Ungeborenen*]. So ist auch die Expansion und Kontraktion der Sternen-

<sup>39</sup> *Beim Anblick eines Toten*; also, *Between Heaven and Earth*, pp. 153 ff.

<sup>40</sup> All mythologies, as well as the fancies of inspired poets, are derived from unalterable cosmic truths, according to *Der Stern der Ungeborenen*.

<sup>41</sup> In his last novel Werfel actually hears the great symphony of the music of the spheres in the macrocosm of the universe and in the microcosm of the atom.—For Werfel's attitude toward music, cf. the author's: *Musikalität bei Werfel* (Philadelphia, 1931).

räume, das Atmen des Universums auf das Natürlichste erklärt. Aber war unsere Menschengestalt etwas Endgültiges? Keineswegs. Wir haben die letzte kosmische Menschengestalt noch lange nicht erreicht. . . . Wenn das Ganze Menschengestalt hat, dann muß es ein männliches und ein weibliches Universum geben. . . . Das Ganze ist mit sich selbst verheiratet.<sup>42</sup>

Hence the justification for the claim of the sacramental sanctity of human wedlock and of the dictum that true marriages are made in heaven.

Just as the universe is a macrocosmic man, so also is man a microcosmic universe, since the one is in the shape of the other. Man, in turn, consists of an endless number of cells which have as little knowledge of each other as the stars do. Werfel expresses this thought in the unpublished poem, "Körpergefühl":

Und plötzlich weiß ich, was ich bin.  
Ich bin ein All voll Weltsystemen  
Ein Sternenraum. . . . Doch ach mein Sinn  
Kann auf dies All nicht Einfluß nehmen. . . .

Ist nicht das große All mir gleich  
Ein Raum der unabhängigen Welten,  
Ein sinnend-willenloses Reich,  
Dem Gott erlaubt, als ich zu gelten?<sup>43</sup>

Having discussed the stars, we shall proceed next to the planets. They are created when two sidereal bodies come so close to each other that the force of gravitation of the larger attracts the smaller, whereupon parts of the latter are thrust out of its body and, in turn, begin to rotate about the larger star; or in other words, in contrast to stars which are the normal form of cosmic matter and follow obediently the cosmic traffic laws, planets are anomalies among the celestial bodies because they are created when two stars break these universal laws. In this way, the planets owe their existence to an infraction of the supreme traffic laws governing the movements of stars. Original sin, which springs from attraction and love, finds here its cosmic prototype.

If planets are "catastrophic anomalies" in the universe, then the earth, as a planet, certainly must be the most unique of them all, since earth alone is so conditioned that it can sustain organic life. From this cognition, Werfel proceeds to the following rhapsodic definition of the destiny of our planet: "And out of this exiled, out of this banished, out of this deeply humiliated matter the germ of life springs forth until, in a comparatively short time, it has developed into the human soul that is capable of ecstatically comprehending God."<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Pp. 361 ff.—F. W. is the abbreviation used by Werfel for himself as the main character of the novel.

<sup>43</sup> A similar idea is already expressed in the *Spiegelmensch-Dramaturgie*, *op. cit.*: "Der Mensch ist die Norm des Sich-Selbst-Erlebens des Universums."

<sup>44</sup> *Between Heaven and Earth*, pp. 156 ff.—It is interesting to compare this attitude of Werfel's with that of *Beim Anblick eines Toten*, whence most of

Since the earth has been chosen for such an exalted mission, it must be the center of cosmic action, and therefore it "revolves in the innermost center of the universe, a center that can only be *the product of the mind*; for indeed, within the universe all space and time dimensions are meaningless." This principle is reduced to a law in the doctrine of the "unendlich verschiebbare Mittelpunkt" in *Der Stern der Ungeborenen*,<sup>45</sup> according to which the universe is geocentric. In the same novel, Werfel elaborates further on the meaningfulness of time by distinguishing several concepts of it. There is, first of all, the normal or human time, then the astral time, third, the private, or autobiographical, time of the "Wintergarten," which is the relative time needed for retrogeneration, i.e., the reduction of the human body to its embryonic state in the course of self-willed death. And finally there is the highest form—spiritual time—the Divine time standard of which the exalted human is capable only on the rarest occasions; it is the time that permits one to witness the most distant past and future, to stand in the present, as it were, and see the beginning and the end. In the final analysis it is this latter type of time which enables Werfel to see the world of the unborn in his last novel, for it is the time standard of the divinely inspired poet.

We have said that the planets are cosmic anomalies and that among the planets the earth is the greatest anomaly of all. If that is so, then man is "an anomaly raised to the twelfth power." Therefore, it must be easy for everyone to believe, Werfel argues, that "humanity is the crown and the goal of creation, and that God Himself had decided from the very beginning not to become *Sirius*, *Aldebaran* or *Cassiopeia* in order to incorporate Himself into a created thing and to have experience of it, but to become something far more rare, greater and more precious, a man."<sup>46</sup>

We have indicated above that the planets are cosmic progenies of

these ideas, as finally expressed in the *Theologumena*, are almost literally derived: ". . . Man könnte im Gegensatz zum unfassbar dünnen feurigen Sternstoff . . . den dichten Stoff der Erde *ausgestoßene Materie* nennen, oder *Materie im Exil*. Durch den Gesetzesbruch, den Sündenfall zweier Gestirne ist unser Planet entstanden. Fortgebannt vom Sonnenleben, dessen geistige Natur wir nicht erkennen dürfen, führt er nun sein eigenes blindes Leben, immer dichter, immer kühler werdend. Die Menschen sind die jüngsten Kinder dieser Blindheit, dieser Kühle, dieser Dichte. Ist das nicht ein Fingerzeig für das, was ich den 'extremen Zustand' unseres Lebens genannt habe? Porta Inferni! Purgatorium, Bußort, Läuterungsort! Vermutlich muß etwas gebüßt werden, was wir nicht begreifen. Vermutlich muß die ausgestoßene Materie diesen Weg ins Dichte und Kalte gehen. Wir aber gehen diesen Weg mit als leidende Teile und Zeugen zugleich. Sonderbar genug, daß einem sogar die Physik zuzuflüstern vermag, diese Erde ist vielleicht nichts anderes als eine Strafkolonie im Kosmos"—In *Der Stern der Ungeborenen* the "Wintergarten," the Hades of the astral world, is located in a hollow within the earth, which was created by the ejaculation of the moon.

<sup>45</sup> In the poem "Nein und Ja" from *Gedichte aus Dreißig Jahren* (Stockholm, 1939), p. 233, Werfel gives two interpretations of the cosmos, one by the non-believing empiricist, the other by the man of faith.

<sup>46</sup> *Between Heaven and Earth*, p. 157.

the sun-star. The beautiful, poetic allegory of this relationship is, according to Werfel's own words, embodied in his favorite novel *Die Geschwister von Neapel*, with Domenico Pascarella as the sun-father and patriarch, and Mammina as the moon.<sup>47</sup>

It is a relatively easy step to transfer the symbolism of the sun as the principle of love and creation to the metaphysical plane. Herein Werfel's ideas agree largely with those of Plotinus and Dante. Plotinus presents the "Idea of the Good" in the likeness of the sun shedding being and life throughout the universe.<sup>48</sup> To Dante, to whom Werfel constantly referred in his conversations while writing his last novel, the sun is the light of the universe, also lighting all the planets, which eternally travel their courses in a set order and, in this way, obtain an ethical character. In them God revealed for the first time his moral law. Dante also interprets sidereal attraction as an act of love, and uses the symbolism of the sun to express the resurrection of Christ. Christ appears as the sun, bathing all heaven in His rays. Then it grows dark, not because the sun has gone down, but because Christ has risen to the Father.<sup>49</sup>

In *Der Stern der Ungeborenen* F. W. visits the planet Mercury, which now is called John the Apostle because, just as the favorite disciple was closest to Christ, this planet is nearest the sun. From here F. W. observes the perpetual life-giving love act of the sun's self-sacrifice:

Sie zuckte auf in tollen Zeugungswonnen, sie wand sich in Mutterwehen, sie raste in jubelnden Ausbrüchen, sie riß ihr Herz in blutroten Protuberanzen auf, sie warf flammende Hüllen von sich, die ihre Selbstverschwendung zu ersticken drohten, sie brannte als ein Orkan unbegreiflicher Lebenstätigkeit, ihre Spannung kannte kein Nachlassen, sie spielte vor Gott und sich selbst von Anfang zum Ende das Drama des Seins.<sup>50</sup>

This awesome spectacle of sacrificial love is living proof for Werfel of the first basic paradox of Ursler, the great scientist of eons to come, which reads: "Wenn die Energie eines Lichtgestirns größer ist als sie selbst, dann muß sich dieses Gestirn opfern, d.h. durch Glorification selbst zerstören."<sup>51</sup> This means that a capacity no longer need be equal to itself, but can be greater; when that happens the moment of the miracle has arrived. Then beauty is more beautiful than itself, art more artistic, and holiness more holy. F. W. is moved to tears by this discovery, and is anxious to hasten back to his contemporaries to bring them this wonderful message, "die nicht nur für die Sonne gilt, sondern das heilige Gesetz des freiesten Sonnen-

<sup>47</sup> For the *Luna* symbolism of the Church cf. Marcel Françon, "Un Symbole de l'Eglise Catholique: *Luna*," *PMLA*, LX (1945), 59 ff.

<sup>48</sup> B. A. G. Fuller, *A History of Philosophy* (New York, 1938), pp. 284 ff.

<sup>49</sup> Dante, *op. cit.*, Par. XXIII.

<sup>50</sup> P. 297.

<sup>51</sup> P. 298.

kinde ist, der Menschheit."<sup>52</sup> For if man's love becomes greater than he himself is, then, for him, too, the miracle has happened. Werfel enriches hagiology by this interesting thought, suggesting this kind of sacrificial love for the martyrdom of saints. However, the average "astromental" man is as little or even less capable of this kind of love, because he is so much further removed from the birth of Christ than is the man of the twentieth century. It is significant to note that the astromental man is "sonnenscheu." The sun in its cold brilliance is more able than man to endure; hence, what little outdoor activity there is takes place after sunset, with the exception of visits to the park of the "Arbeiter"; but these are reserved primarily for the children and their mothers, for they are the ones who want and need the blessings of the sun which they receive in this place of the Christopher-like personality of the "Worker." This, again, expresses symbolically Christ's love of children. As a rule, the grown-ups shun the sunlight cautiously, but their "Sonnenfürchtigkeit, diese Flucht vor der Strahlung war nicht nur ein Schutztrieb, sondern eine Gesinnung des Zeitalters."<sup>53</sup> Therefore, the astromental civilization is subterranean. We are also told that thousands of years ago there occurred a mysterious celestial phenomenon to which the cryptic allusion of "Sonnenkatastrophe" is made. This was one of those extremely rare moments when, as interpreted symbolically, the world was saved from cataclysmic destruction by the self-sacrifice of the sun. A great many things have changed since that last Divine correction. But the process of redemption continues; for, as the Grandbishop explains to Werfel, the further man is removed from the birth of Christ the closer he must be to His return.

Werfel's symbolic use of the sun is by no means restricted to his last novel. On the contrary, it recurs frequently in his writings and finds one of its earlier poignant expressions in *Die Mittagsgöttin*. Essentially, Werfel's thoughts, as well as those of Plotinus and Dante, agree with the Aristotelian idea of Godhead as the immobile, around whom the planets move by the impulse of love. Divine love, therefore, is the cause of cosmic movement; it is the spring of the *πάντα ῥεῖ*.

Everything is in constant movement, and rest is but an illusion which is given to man only as long as he is alive, and which he loses again in death. But what is death? Death is not the end of existence; it is but "frozen time"<sup>54</sup> and is comparable to a train ride, where the passenger is sitting still while he is moving toward a destination. Occasionally he has to change trains, and in so doing, he must bide his time while waiting for the next train connection. Those who do not have a through ticket are destined for stopovers of reincarna-

<sup>52</sup> P. 298.

<sup>53</sup> P. 40.

<sup>54</sup> *Between Heaven and Earth*, p. 225.

tions. B. H., Werfel's best friend during his Gymnasium days, whom he reencounters in the astramental world, is just such an inveterate commuter to reincarnation.<sup>66</sup> Two things, at least, F. W. has learned for certain during his sojourn in the astramental world, and he imparts them to his friend before they take leave of each other, two truths for all eternity: "daß wir beide nicht aus der Welt verschwinden können, und daß eine Wiederbegegnung immer möglich ist."<sup>67</sup>

But what happens to the ego in death? Does it stay intact as it was in life, or does it have to undergo certain changes? "Death is an expropriation of the less essential constituent elements of the ego. . . . There remains the unique and non-recurrent capacity of being awakened by God to vital response."<sup>67</sup> This means that only that which is truly and uniquely the essence of the ego survives death; that peculiar characteristic—the unique and individual memory—distinguishes one ego from all the others. F. W. realizes the tremendous and saving importance of this memory in the astramental Hades, the "Wintergarten," when, after several successful escapes from the temptations of modern death, he is plunged into a Lethal-like body of "light" water in which he is to be deprived of his last resistance and literally to sink into oblivion. It is this memory which makes him the "non-recurrent individual," and which, in the unpublished, revealing poem "Estrada Drüben," he calls the only passport:

Woran mißt du, ob das Leben lohnte,  
Ob du wußtest, wo Gott wirklich wohnte?  
An der Grenze, wo das Zollhaus ragt,  
Gelten keine Werke, die gelungen,  
Gilt nicht einmal, was du kühn gewagt.  
Nur nach einem Paß wird dort gefragt:  
Nach der Leuchtkraft der Erinnerungen.

The closer Werfel feels himself coming to his own death, the more this problem occupies his mind. While it has no sting for him, its metaphysical implications challenge him to endless discussions and theories. Toward the end of *Der Stern der Ungeborenen*, where he is supposed to explain to the Grandbishop what it is to be dead, he is told that he does not know death, for if he did he would never have left the ecstatic joy of the presence of the Lord. With this the

<sup>66</sup> B. H. in *Der Stern der Ungeborenen* is Willy Haas.

<sup>67</sup> P. 610. In the very beginning of this novel Werfel compares humanity with a rosebush, which, in spite of its capacity for great variety, from time to time must produce roses in exact repetition of those which at one time or another preceded. Coming back to man he continues: "Jedes Ich ist unsterblich, aber nicht jedes Ich ist ein ganzes Ich. . . . Wenn Gott am jüngsten Tage . . . die Seelen zählen wird, so wird er eben nicht siebzig Millionen Seelen zählen. . . . Jedes Ich wird am Ende der Zeit ein dichter Strauß von Verkörperungen sein, eine Art staubumhüllter Wanderstamm, der durch die Wüste der Aeonen zog" (p. 127).

<sup>68</sup> *Between Heaven and Earth*, p. 177.



Grandbishop expresses the orthodox disapproval of lay speculations, an important incident to which we shall return presently.

In one passage of his last novel, Werfel likens death to being stored in a capsule of timelessness and spacelessness, which moves on and on, as long as motion exists. This is that feeling of "Gefahren werden"<sup>58</sup> to which Werfel frequently refers in his last book. In all this perpetual motion neither planets, nor the sun, nor the stars, have a set goal, he says; man, on the other hand, has a limited and expressed goal—the enraptured contemplation of the source of all light. Also the angels, these "Menschen der Intermundien," have a destination. We have already mentioned that Werfel receives certain proof of their existence in *Der Stern der Ungeborenen*. We also know that they consist of invisible proto-matter, and can be perceived only in their guises, or spiritually. During his planetary peregrinations, F. W. encounters two kinds of angels: the *Melangeloi* in the universe, and the *Leukangeloi* in the atom, again proving the morphic identity of the macrocosm and the microcosm. However, his greatest revelation about the angels he receives during his interview with the "Hochschwebende," the Superior of the "Chronosophers," whose knowledge and vision of the cosmic mysteries is so great that he is no longer subject to the law of gravity. Whatever else they are, "die Engel in den Intermundien sind die Regungen, das ist die ausgesandten Gedanken, Gefühle, Vorstellungen, Begehungen und Phantasien Gottes."<sup>59</sup> Man, too, is such a source: "Wir senden einander zu, was sich in uns regt, nur der Weise nimmt wahr, was nicht wahrzunehmen ist."<sup>60</sup>

It has already been said that not only does man have a definite goal in the perpetual cosmic motion, but that all the angels also travel in a certain direction. They hasten to the *Rosarium Virginis*, the rose garden of the Virgin, the *Rose* of the *Divine Comedy*, to pay homage and to adore the first mother of the "Reich der Mütter," "das Erdenweib, aus dem der Geist hervorgetreten war, der durch seine Passion überwunden hatte den Gott im Menschen und den Menschen im Gott."<sup>61</sup>

The Madonna belief is an essential element in Werfel's Christianity, as well as in his life. In his faith, the Virgin represents the crowning glory of the realm of the mothers, man's refuge, solace and intercessor, and his eternal hope and source of redemption. Long before Werfel was ready to avow publicly his Madonna faith, woman had been given an exalted place in his works and thoughts. It is woman's eternal sacrifice in her love for the man and in the mystery of childbirth, and man's infliction of pain and sorrow upon

<sup>58</sup> P. 319.

<sup>59</sup> P. 359.

<sup>60</sup> P. 359.

<sup>61</sup> P. 320.

her that keeps God's promise forever alive. "Mochte das Weib auch die urerste Verführerin gewesen sein, für mich war und blieb sie der Probiertein der männlichen Schuld, um des natürlichen Leidens willen, das der Mann ihr verursacht."<sup>62</sup> So it is through Mara in *Die Mittagsgöttin* that Laurentin finds himself and is allowed to experience self-fulfillment in his and Mara's child. Thamal's greatest and unpardonable sin is his betrayal of Ampheh and their ill-begotten child.<sup>63</sup> Barbara's spirit is the saving grace of Ferdinand,<sup>64</sup> and in the introduction to *Das Lied von Bernadette* Werfel humbly pays his debt for the Virgin's intercession on his behalf.

With all this "Frauenverehrung," which he also lived in his own relation to his wife, Alma Maria Mahler-Werfel, it will, therefore, not surprise us too much to find frequent and clear avowals of his faith in the Virgin in his last novel. The very indication of the time, first of all, in which the action of the novel takes place is significant. It is the eleventh "Weltengroßjahr der Jungfrau," in which the term *Jungfrau* certainly does not refer to the designation of the Zodiac, but evidently applies to the Virgin. Again, in the moment of highest danger on the planet Petrus, when certain destruction seems inevitable, a prayer to the Virgin saves F. W.'s life: "Ich dachte in der letzten Sekunde an die heilige Kraft, die mich nicht nur einmal im Leben gerettet hatte, und es ertönten auf dem ungefestigten Riesenplaneten wohl zum ersten Mal seit Erschaffung der Welt diese lateinischen Worte aus einem irdischen Mund: *Ave Maria gratia plena Dominus*. . . ."<sup>65</sup> And when Lala, the astramental bride who leaves her world of "purposeless play" for the toiling world of the Junglemen, questions whether he really believed in the Virgin and believed that she dwelled in the "intermundia," F. W. answers: "Glauben ist ein falsches Wort, Lala, in meinem Fall. Denn ich weiß, daß sie mir geholfen hat."<sup>66</sup>

As a matter of fact, F. W. has several narrow escapes during his three-day visit in the astramental world. And it is always "das ewig Weibliche," whatever name it may bear, to whom he owes his rescue. His escape from the planet Petrus with the miraculous aid of the Virgin has already been mentioned. Lala saves him from his harrowing dream of the purgatory; the "Ammenmädchen," the "Wintergarten's" caricaturesque distortion of motherhood, who nurses the retrogenerated babies, saves him by handing him a ball of yarn, the "Nabelschnur"; he finds shelter and refuge there in the chapel of Saint Ha, the Santa Illusio, that latter sister of Bernadette who is so much the allegory of Divine beauty that she no longer has a

<sup>62</sup> *Der Stern der Ungeborenen*, p. 222.

<sup>63</sup> *Spiegelmensch* (München, 1920).

<sup>64</sup> *Barbara oder die Frömmigkeit* (Wien, 1929).

<sup>65</sup> P. 314.

<sup>66</sup> P. 472.



face and in this way allows the worshiper to adore in her his own vision of beauty.

With the discussion of Werfel's reverent acceptance of the Virgin belief, we have already entered the final phase of his religious philosophy—his Catholic sympathies, or better, his Catholicism. His ever-growing interest has been attested by repeated statements of his own, as, for instance, in the much publicized and incompletely quoted letter to Archbishop Rummel of New Orleans,<sup>67</sup> in which Werfel professes to see in the Catholic Church the natural ally in his own struggle against materialism. In his estimation, it is the only Christian Church of God, because it is supra-national, non-sectarian, and because it is guided by one head, Christ's vicar on earth. It is, therefore, the only one of all the Christian denominations, and the only religion besides the Jewish, to live on in the astromental age.

As was stated in the beginning of this study, Catholicism, as an "Urerlebnis," stood at the threshold of his life. Looked at from the other end of his career, this faith remains the great unsatisfied longing of his life. Since Werfel had accepted all the fundamental tenets of Catholicism, why did he not take the last step and become a member of the Church? There certainly are subtle personal and psychological reasons which prevented him from drawing the last conclusion, but we shall not enter upon the discussion of them here. To remain on the eschatological level, Werfel could not in this life abandon his Jewish faith, for that would mean betraying the mission with which God entrusted the Jew, forever to bear witness to Christ's existence. Since as long as he lives he cannot desert the faith into which he was born, is there not a possibility that, in death, the Church, by taking the initiative, could receive him into the fold? It is this author's considered opinion that Werfel means to suggest just this at the end of his last work, *Der Stern der Ungeborenen*.<sup>68</sup> After he has explored this most perfect of worlds which human intellect ever conceived, and after he has witnessed its downfall because of its "Gottesferne" and the inherent and constant "Mißlungenheitskoeffizient," F. W. yearns to return whence he was summoned in a seance. He visits the "Arbeiter," the biological Helios, he visits Io-Saul, the Jew of the age, he partakes of their symbolic foods, and feels perfectly at home in their company. But it is to the Grand-bishop of the Catholic Church, which—as an institution—by now has become greatly spiritualized, that he finally turns for help, and it is the bishop's wine for which he develops a most insatiable thirst. Not at any time throughout the novel does F. W. do or say anything that would directly identify him as a Jew. On the contrary, in addition to his full acceptance of the Madonna faith, he performs certain

<sup>67</sup> *Time*, Jan. 4, 1943; also, *The Queen's Work*, Jan., 1943.

<sup>68</sup> The end of the novel was changed considerably in the last few days of Werfel's life. The change bespeaks even more cogently this idea.

acts which would stamp him a Catholic. He passes an exorcism, during which he withstands all evocations of heresies, thus establishing himself as fully orthodox in the Catholic sense. He makes the sign of the cross and is willing to swear by the cross. He even takes the side of the Church in the dispute with Io-Saul. Neither he nor his son Io-Knirps, whom he discovers in the astramental world, can be helped by Io-Saul, the great traditional healer of all ages, who forever must precede and follow the procession of the Heathen-Christians, as he also follows the litter of the fatally burned Io-Knirps, intoning the heartbreaking dirge of the Eternal Jew:

Unser Vater, unser König!

Ich gehe voran und ich folge der Bahre aller Zeitgenossenschaften.  
Denn ewig währt Deine Gnade, die mich absondert.

Unser Vater, unser König!

Sie hassen und verachten mich von Abraham bis auf diesen Tag,  
Sie schauen zur Seite und möchten mich los sein,  
Denn ewig währt Deine Gnade, die mich absondert.

Unser Vater, unser König!

Und trotzdem bin ich ihr Arzt und mein Sohn müht sich für ihre  
Gerechtigkeit von Abraham bis auf diesen Tag.  
Denn ewig währt Deine Gnade, die mich absondert.

Unser Vater, unser König!

Du wirst ihre Unruhe enden und ihnen Frieden geben am Tage aller  
Tage. Und dann, als Letzten nimm auch mich in Deinen Frieden auf.  
Denn ewig währt Deine Gnade, die mich absondert.<sup>69</sup>

F. W.'s son Io-Knirps, through whose love-sacrifice the father is to be redeemed, avoids the painless short cut around death in the "Wintergarten" and willingly and happily dies a Catholic death. His fatal burns he receives in an act of great self-sacrifice, which he performs with the joyful naïveté and unthinking abandon of a child. It is he who retrieves from the burning ruins of the destroyed "Djebel," the great seat of learning of the "Chronosphers," man's greatest achievement, the "Isochronion," that wonderful small instrument of "geistige Zeit," that spiritual time which we mentioned above, which gives man "the Divine attribute" of experiencing synchronously time that has passed and time that lies ahead. Of it Werfel says:

Diese herrlichste Form der Zeit zeichnet sich dadurch aus, daß sie kein Nebeneinander kennt, daß sie in jedem ihrer Teile den ganzen Weltlauf enthält, daß sie dem, der ihr angehört, die Freiheit gibt, reglos von einem Punkte zum anderen zu springen, und ihn in demselben Augenblick zum Zeugen des Ersten Schöpfungstages und des Jüngsten Gerichts macht. Auf der geistigen Zeit beruhen die drei Kräfte, die den Menschen erst zum

<sup>69</sup> P. 627.

Menschen erheben: die Erinnerung, die Ahnung und der Glaube an das Unbeweisbare.<sup>70</sup>

To return to Werfel's Catholicism, we stated that F. W. turns to the Grandbishop for help in his predicament. Indeed, in the very first part of the novel he says to him: "Wo könnte ich mehr Vertrauen, Hilfe und Gnade finden?"<sup>71</sup> and in the last part: "Ich bin ein Verirrter und habe niemanden als den Hochwürdigen Vater, der mir in dieser ganz vertrackten Situation helfen könnte."<sup>72</sup> The Grandbishop questions him about his experiences in the astramental world—about death, and about the things which the people of the twentieth century will find most difficult to believe. The most incredible thing, Werfel answers without hesitation, will be the fact that the Grandbishop and the Jew of the Age have survived and are still existing, even in an astramental world. However, as Werfel begins to metaphysicize again, the Grandbishop frowns, because the theologian "liebt es nicht, wenn ihn ein Laie mit metaphysischen Spekulationen erschreckt, von denen er schon beim ersten Wort weiß, daß sie längst widerlegte Ketzereien sind und nichts anderes sein können."<sup>73</sup> F. W. cannot get enough of the wonderful wine which the Grandbishop serves him and for which he has such deep longing. Having realized that his speculations are dangerously akin to heresies, he drops the subject and humbly waits while the Grandbishop is trying to think of a "Möglichkeit" to get him back where he came from. His only "Möglichkeit," which here is used in the sense of "Fahr-möglichkeit," is his dead son. Just as Werfel throughout his life never paid any attention to train schedules and left it to others to see to it that he got where he wanted to get, and on time, so also here, he confidently leaves it to the Grandbishop and his assistant to worry about his safe return. Io-Knirps has to return in his flight through spiritual time to the beginning of time, and therefore he will drop F. W. off when he gets to the corner of Bedford Drive<sup>74</sup> and 1943, where stands a Church of the Good Shepherd. The Grandbishop and F. W. leave the room. Making the sign of the cross over F. W.'s head, the Grandbishop bids him go toward the catafalque on which Io-Knirps is lying. F. W. walks haltingly to the altar, for he fears a misstep or a wrong thought that would undo everything. Suddenly he realizes that Io-Knirps' death is not real; he beholds two faces, but

<sup>70</sup> P. 529. As early as 1916 Werfel expressed a similar idea, ascribing these attributes to the poet: "Für das höhere Bewußtsein des Dichters oder des Träumenden ist aber das Zukünftige, ehe es noch eintritt, Vergangenheit. Das hat mit Weisheit und hoher Einsicht in Kausalitäten nichts zu tun, der Träumende und der Dichter erfährt hier die Ahnung eines göttlichen Attributs, das die Theologie 'Allzeitlichkeit Gottes' nennen könnte" ("Substantiv und Verbum").

<sup>71</sup> P. 239.

<sup>72</sup> P. 635.

<sup>73</sup> P. 636. Italics mine.

<sup>74</sup> Werfel's address in Beverly Hills, California.

the dead countenance yields to a boyishly smiling, twinkling one, and, full of happy confidence, F. W. entrusts his homeward journey to his son, as he enters into him.

And so Franz Werfel has completed the circle which started with the naïve faith of the child. Having traversed all the theodicies of the human mind, he returns to the simple truths as he has always known them. He humbly reaffirms his faith and is saved by his son.

Dante wanted to prove not only that angels fly, but also how God runs his world. However he learned soon enough that one can sing the heavens but never tell of them.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Dante, *op. cit.*, Par. XXXIII.

# OLD PROVENÇAL SAIG "HANGMAN" AND TWO POEMS ON JONGLEURS BY CERVERI DE GIRONA

By KURT LEWENT

## I. OLD PROVENÇAL saig

In December, 1274, King James I of Aragon concluded an armistice with his rebellious barons which was agreed upon to last till the Cortes would gather together. The latter did meet in February or March, 1275. This armistice was violated by the King's son, the Infante Peter, later King Peter III (1276-85), by having one of the barons, Raymond William, killed. At least this is what a Provençal poet, Bernart de Rovenac, reproached him with, though no historical document mentions this act of brutality. The troubadour's words run thus:<sup>1</sup>

- II. Tot aisso dic per l'Enfant d'Arago,  
10. e deu aver nom 'enfant' per razo,  
quar leu s'ave qu'enfans fa falhizo,  
et elh falhi, quant aucis son baro  
Raimon Guilhem, qu'anc tregua no-l tenc pro  
ni en sa cort jutjamens datz no-l fo.
- 15. Per que totz selhs a cui elh treguas do  
devon duptar aquelh 'enfant' fello.
- III. Treguas trencar escien esta lag  
e quant a fe no s'esmenda-l forfag;  
per que l'enfant a fag un fol assag  
20. ab un mal sag qu'als Catalas a fag.  
E dizon tug qu'om de silh tregua-s gag  
e qu'el son cors<sup>2</sup> i fo mes en fol plag,  
qu'a filh de rei esta mal atrazag,  
quant ampara nulh offici de sag.
- IV. Enaissi par qu'el sag no fon certas;  
26. quar n'a lauzor d'aul gent e de vilas  
e gran blasme de totz los sobiras,  
e si d'est sag no-s clamon Catalas,  
om los tenra totz per flacs e per vas  
30. e plus suffrens que negus ermitas.  
E meta i quascus per si sas mas  
o-s tenr'a pus que rabia de cas.

The general interpretation of these three stanzas leaves hardly any room for doubt. The only stumbling block is the word *sag*, which occurs no less than four times (lines 20, 24, 25, 28). What compli-

<sup>1</sup> G. Bosdorff, *Bernard von Rovenac, ein provenzalischer Troubadour des XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Erlangen, 1907), No. IV; cf. the historical comment, pp. 24-32.

<sup>2</sup> Bosdorff's text has *que-l son cors*; we follow Levy's correction (*Prov. Suppl. Wb.*, VII, 415), *el son (sos) cors* having the value of the simple pronoun *el*.

cates the máttter is that in three of the cases (lines 20, 25, 28) the word seems to denote a thing (Bosdorff translates: "Aderlass, Blutschröpfen, Schröpfen"), and in one case (line 24), a person (Bosdorff: "Blutschröpfer"). Raynouard (*Lexique Roman*, V, 131) quotes lines 25 and 28-29 and translates "saccagement" and "sac" respectively. Levy (*Prov. Suppl. Wb.*, VII, 415), rejecting Raynouard's definition as well as Bosdorff's, admits that the sense of the passage remains obscure to him. Jeanroy, in his review of Bosdorff's edition, comes to the same negative result (*Ann. du Midi*, vol 19, p. 391).

And yet, prior to that time Milá y Fontanals, in his study *De los Trovadores en España* (Barcelona, 1861), p. 159 (2nd edition, p. 161), had shown the way out of this difficulty. He, too, it is true, was of the opinion that the word *sag* must have had a double meaning in this poem, and the explanation he gave for one of the two presumed meanings is no doubt right. He identified *sag*, the *nomen actoris*, with Spanish *sayón*. It is amazing that both Bosdorff and Levy should have rejected this interpretation on the ground that there is no other evidence of *sag* in Old Provençal. Bosdorff does not even see that, avoiding Scylla, he is caught by Charybdis; rejecting Milá's *hapax legomenon*, he constructs an artificial one of his own.<sup>3</sup> Could the troubadour indeed have found a better name to designate the person who killed the baron for Peter than "executioner"? If there is no other example of the word *sag* in Old Provençal, it does exist in Catalan, or at least once existed, since the Catalan dictionaries (e.g., *Diccionari de la llengua catalana*, 3 vols. [Barcelona, Salvat y Comp<sup>a</sup>, 1912]) mark it as archaic.<sup>4</sup> So we find the Catalan word listed in the third edition of Meyer-Lübke's *REW* under Gothic *sagio* (No. 7507) together with Spanish *sayón*. Meyer-Lübke obviously supposes the two words to represent the nominative and the accusative of the same stem, the word thus belonging in the same category of expressions as Old Provençal *bar*—*baron*, *glot*—*gloton*, *laire*—*lairon*, *companh*—*companion*, *fel*—*felon*, Gasc—*Gascon*, *Uc*—*Ugon*, etc. (see Schultz-Gora, *Prov. Elementarbuch*, 5, §105). What is remarkable in our word is the fact that each of two Romance languages adopted one of its two cases as current expression. The same is true of French *pire* and Spanish *peor*, French *maire* and English *mayor*, French *moindre* and Spanish *menor*.

Even Bosdorff did not doubt that in line 24 *sag* designates a person. We find no difficulty in applying the same definition to line 28. Bosdorff translates: "Und wenn die Katalanen gegen dieses Blutschröpfen nicht Einwand erheben. . . ." But would not the translation: "And if the Catalans do not complain of this murderer . . ."

<sup>3</sup> P. 65: "Ich fasse also *sag* als lehnwörtliche Bildung zu sp. pg. *sajar*, =sp. *saja*, das Schröpfen, das Aderlassen, was sehr gut paßt."

<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately I had no opportunity of consulting Aguiló's dictionary.

fit the context as well? Bosdorff's interpretation of line 25: "So scheint es, daß er beim Schröpfen keine sichere Hand hatte" is anything but satisfactory. The murderer's hand must indeed have been sure enough, for it achieved only too well the task with which it had been entrusted. So another interpretation proves inevitable. I think we have to change *qu'el* into *quel* and define *certas* as "skillful" (see Levy, *Pet. Dict.* and *Prov. Suppl. Wb.*, I, 247). The sense then would be: "Thus it appears that the hangman was not skillful." The reason why Bernart is of this opinion is explained in the lines that follow: the "executioner" won the praise of evil-minded and the blame of all noble-minded people.

The passage which offers the greatest difficulty in defining *sag* as a noun indicating a person is line 20. The difficulty, however, is not insurmountable, for there are several possibilities. (1) Bernart de Rovenac was far from being a great poet or even a good stylist. So it would not seem absolutely out of the question that he gave lines 19-20 a sense based on the following construction of the sentence: *Per que l'Enfant a fag un fol assag qu'als Catalans a fag ab un mal sag* "The Infante has committed a foolish action which he has done to the Catalans through a bad executioner." This conception of the text, however, is none too tempting. (2) It is not an unheard-of lexicographic phenomenon that the same word may indicate a thing as well as a person. Old Provençal *proa* meant both "proof" and "witness" (see Levy, *Prov. Suppl. Wb.*, VI, 567, No. 3), and for *asag*, in a passage from Guiraut Riquier discussed below, we shall have to claim the meaning of "one who stands a test" besides the usual sense of the "test" itself. The English language, too, offers some parallels. The word "test" formerly also meant "witness," much as "fraud" and "cheat" can designate actions as well as doers. And does not "interest" also mean "the person" whose interest is affected by a certain event or procedure? In all these cases, however, the semantic development started from a noun designating a thing. In *sag*, if the etymon is right, the contrary would be true. This and the fact that there is no other evidence of the double meaning of our word make us believe that we had better not look for a solution of our problem in that direction. (3) In a letter addressed to Bosdorff, Levy said (see the former's edition, p. 64): "Maybe *sag* was not the original reading in all the lines." Following this suggestion, I suppose that *mal sag* is a scribal error caused by the repeated use of the word *sag* in our poem, *mal sag* standing for an original *malfag*. Joined to *fag*, the adjective *mal* is a necessary qualifier; joined to *sag*, it is tautologic and absolutely superfluous. A certain support of this conjecture can be found in the fact that, within the same two lines, the scribe made a similar



mistake, only in the opposite direction, putting *sol* (*assag*) where the sense seems categorically to require *fol* (correction by Milá).<sup>5</sup>

Now, Levy (*loc. cit.*) gives what he thinks to be another evidence for *sag* which, if it were clear, could corroborate the definition claimed here for this word. Unfortunately Levy admits that he himself does not understand the passage he quotes. It is from Guiraut Riquier, Gr. 248, 52 (Mahn, *Werke*, IV, 60), and runs thus:

E quascus fora *saitz*  
de Dieu per bos assaitz  
a luy deutes pagatz,  
don elh fora pagatz.

The poem deals with the perverseness of the world. Some of its passages are difficult to understand owing to the poet's tendency toward making the rhymes consist of as many identical syllables as possible. The above four lines are an illustration of this tendency. Not infrequently he even makes a word rhyme with itself when there is only a slight difference in meaning. This is what he has done, I suppose, in the first of the four lines; I should prefer reading *for'asaitz*. Our suggestion, then, necessitates that, *asaitz* in the second line having its usual sense of "action," "deed," the meaning of *asaitz* in line 1 be different. The word also had the sense of "test," which, applied to a person (*cascus*), can hardly mean anything but "a tested person."<sup>6</sup> In my opinion what the poet wanted to say is this: "And

<sup>5</sup> Line 32 contains another unsolved problem of interpretation. Bosdorff's text and translation ("Sonst wird er sich benehmen noch schlimmer als ein wütender Hund") are no doubt wrong. *Tenra* cannot stand for *tenrá* a with the stressed *a* of *tenrá* elided before the following vowel. The word *rabia* is bisyllabic, which makes the line short by one syllable (see Schultz-Gora, *Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, vol. 29, 241). Jeanroy (*Ann. du Midi*, vol. 19, p. 391) wants to substitute *o-s tema* for *o-s tenra*, translating "ou qu'il craigne pour lui-même," which is not clear and does not take care of the missing syllable. Schultz-Gora (*loc. cit.*) inserts, to supply that syllable, the word *mal*, reading: *O-s tenra pus mal que rabia de cas*. This, however, would deprive the line of its caesura; and is it possible to give *rabia de cas* the sense of "wütender Hund," as both Schultz-Gora and Bosdorff do? According to the structure of a regular decasyllabic verse (4 + 6 syllables), it is the first part that lacks the syllable, *pus que rabia de cas* forming a correct second part of six syllables. The original version I think ran thus: *O s' [es]ten[d]ra pus que rabia de cas*. In adding *es* we suppose the scribe's eye to have glided from the first to the second *s*, dropping one of them and the *e* between them. It may appear not quite as necessary to insert the *d* in *estendra*. The simple verb *tener* having the meaning of "to extend" and many of the forms of *estener* and *estendre* being phonetically identical or very similar, there might have been a certain confusion in the use of those forms, which would justify the existence of a form *estendra* for *estendra*. We translate the line as follows: "Or it will spread like rabies." The subject of this sentence ("it") refers to the *i* of the preceding line. This *i*, on the other hand, has no definite noun to connect it with. The poet has his mind so intensely fixed on that crime that he contents himself with vaguely alluding to it by *i*. It would suit the purpose best to translate the *i* by a similarly vague phrase, such as "in this affair."

<sup>6</sup> For parallels of this phenomenon see above (second of the possibilities to explain *sag* in line 20 of Bernart de Rovenac's poem).



yet everybody would be able to stand the test before God if he only paid Him duties in the form of good actions, by which He would be satisfied." If this interpretation is right, and I hope it is, the passage from Guiraut Riquier does not contain the word *sag* as dealt with here.

Regrettable though it may be that this second example of O'd Provençal *sag* is nonexistent, we no longer need it to prove the existence of *sag* as meaning "executioner." For there is a poem written in the language of the troubadours which offers our word with the sense in question no less than eight times. This poem is a strange composition which was unknown to Levy and Bosdorff and deserves publication not only from the lexicographic point of view. Because of the fact that it was written by the Catalan troubadour Cerveri de Girona the question arises whether the use of *sag* might not be a Catalanism. Indeed, Cerveri's Provençal poems are not free from faults of this kind. If we had only his poem as an evidence of *sag*, there would be no proof for *sag* being a truly Provençal word. In this respect even Bernart de Rovenac's poem is not above suspicion. Bernart deals with events that happened in Catalonia; he even apostrophizes the Catalans directly. So he may have purposely employed a Catalan word to make his poem more effective for Catalan ears. But these are only possibilities. We have no right to claim either that Cerveri unconsciously used a word of his mother tongue in a Provençal poem, or that Bernart consciously inserted a foreign word in a poem written in his domestic idiom. We may even say that, if Bernart had really had this intention, he would have looked for and found an opportunity to point out the true character of this word.

## II. TWO POEMS BY CERVERI DE GIRONA ON JONGLEURS

### (1) *Cerveri's contradictory attitude towards jongleurs*

The above-mentioned of Cerveri's poems containing the word *sag* and edited here as No. I, is called by the MS (*S\**) the *vers del saig e del joglar*. It forms one link in the long chain of medieval manifestations concerning the social position of jongleurs. Clergymen and moralists condemned jongleurs because of their immoral way of life. No word seemed harsh enough to characterize the vileness of these people. They were often denied the communion and placed on the same level with prostitutes. But in the long list of such accusations which Faral gives in his book *Les Jongleurs en France au moyen âge* (Paris, 1910), pp. 26 ff., we look in vain for the comparison which Cerveri uses as the starting point for his poem, i.e., the comparison of the jongleur to the hangman. Yet somebody must have used it, even somebody of Cerveri's own time. From the way he treats that unknown accuser of jongleurs in the beginning of his

poem and takes the side of the jongleurs, it would appear that he intervened in a discussion that was going on. One is tempted to assume that his defense of jongleurs is somehow connected with that well-known petition which Cerveri's Provençal colleague and contemporary Guiraut Riquier addressed in 1274 to King Alphonso X of Castile (ed. Pfaff in Mahn, *Werke*, IV, 163 ff.). But, however contemptuously the Provençal poet thinks about what he calls the bad category of *joglars*,<sup>7</sup> he does not use any expression that could justify the idea of Cerveri's poem being a reply to Guiraut's.

After all, there need not necessarily be an antagonism between the Catalan and Provençal poets, one defending, the other condemning, minstrels. It is not impossible that, though making no distinction between good and bad *joglars*, as Guiraut did, Cerveri, too, had in mind the higher grade of minstrels whose conduct was not such as to exclude them from intercourse with respectable people. This would, in a way, also explain the fact that Cerveri wrote another poem which otherwise would form a striking contrast to his defense of jongleurs. It is the *sirventes* beginning *Juglar, prec vos, ans que mortz vos aucia* (our Poem II), in which we find the poet on the side of the Christian moralists, trying to dissuade jongleurs from their impious life and urging them to praise the Virgin in their songs. Did Cerveri, in this poem, really aim only at that lower class of jongleurs which Guiraut Riquier had in view? The text does not say anything to corroborate that assumption.<sup>8</sup> Or is Cerveri's poem the expression of the state of mind of a troubadour who has become old and weary of his profession, seeking, like many a colleague in southern France, to atone for former "sins" by turning to a religious life? Again the poem does not give any answer. If it really were inspired by such an attitude, it must have been written later than his pro-jongleur poem. There is, however, hardly any possibility of fixing its date and thus establishing a chronological relation between the two poems. The envois praise, as do most of Cerveri's poems, a lady called *Sobre-*

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the description, lines 560 ff.:

Qu'ieu ne [read m'o?] tenc a maltrage  
c'us homs senes saber  
ab sotil captener,  
si de calqu'estrumen  
sab un pauc a prezen,  
s'en ira el tocan  
per carrieiras sercan  
e queren c'om li do;  
o autre ses razo

cantara per las plassas  
vilmen et en gens bassas  
metra queren sa ponha  
en totas ses vergonha  
privadas et estranhas,  
pueys ira's n'en tavernas,  
ab sol qu'en puec'aver;  
e non auzan parer  
en deguna cort bona.

<sup>8</sup> We must not forget, however, that Cerveri sent a poem of his, a kind of philosophical letter (Gr. 434a, 2), to his friends in Provence, or, as he says:

. . . als francs juglars  
e doctors de Provença.

The use of the word *doctors* reminds us of the fact that Alphonso X of Castile, answering the above-mentioned application of Guiraut Riquier, had bestowed that name on the highest class of troubadours. So Cerveri seems to be familiar with that discussion and Guiraut's views. Should he not have followed the latter also in that he recognized, with the expression *francs juglars*, his distinction between the lower, unworthy category of jongleurs and the nobler one for which the king reserved the name of *joglar*?

*pretz*, another lady, the "Lady of the Thistles," which is a *senhal* for the Viscountess of Cardona, and the Infante. The latter is, in all probability, the Infante Peter, later King Peter III of Aragon (1276-85). The historical allusions in Cerveri's defense of jongleurs are just as vague. In the last line, Cerveri mentions a king who "sings," i.e., writes poetry like himself. Cerveri served under two kings, the above-mentioned Peter and his father, James I the Conqueror (1213-76). While nothing is known of James ever having written verse, there is a poem composed in Provençal by King Peter (Gr. 325, 1), whom Cerveri, moreover, calls an expert in poetry (see the lines quoted in note to line 33 of Poem I). Peter's poem is a *sirventes* consisting of two stanzas and a *tornada*. This gave rise to a sequel of three more poems composed by various authors in the same metre at the moment when the French "crusade" was being launched against Aragon (1285). The whole cycle has been published and discussed by Jeanroy, *Les Coblas provençales relatives à la Croisade aragonaise de 1285* (in *Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal* [Madrid, 1925], III, 77-88). If any conclusion can be drawn from these facts, we should say that Cerveri's defensive *vers*, written under the "poet" king, was posterior to his aggressive *sirventes* dedicated to the same sovereign at the time when he was still the Infante. This chronological relation would be just the reverse of the one that underlay our attempt at attributing the coexistence of two so contradictory poems to their author's conversion from the worldly life of a *joglar* to one more moral and religious. So here again it would prove wrong to measure a medieval literary production by the modern idea that it must somehow be connected with the author's individual and psychic experience. Maybe Cerveri's attitude towards life was not more involved when he wrote either poem than was that of the participants in the poems known as *jocs-partitz*. The poet who submitted to his interlocutor a dilemmatical question, of which he was to defend one side, nolens-volens had to be the champion of the opposite standpoint, and, just for the fun of disputing, he performed his part as enthusiastically as if he had made the choice himself. Similarly Cerveri, for some outward reasons unknown to us, may have played the role of a defender of jongleurs at one time and that of their accuser at another.

## (2) Literary Affinities

Neither of Cerveri's poems has an exact parallel in Provençal literature. There are, it is true, a number of poems that blame jongleurs, poems such as those which Witthoeft published in 1891 under the head of *Sirventes joglaresc* (Ausz. und Abh. aus dem Gebiet der roman. Phil., No. 88). We do not want to renew the discussion of whether the name *sirventes joglaresc* was a *terminus technicus* of

troubadour lyrics and, if it was, whether Witthoeft was right in applying this expression to the poems he published.<sup>9</sup> Whatever we may call them, there is no doubt that most of those poems did constitute a particular literary genre. Each of them was composed for, and addressed to, a certain jongleur, who generally was supposed to have previously asked for it<sup>10</sup> and was expected to sing or recite it,<sup>11</sup> though in most cases the poem was filled with invectives ridiculing his bad manners as well as his physical, mental, and artistic insufficiencies.<sup>12</sup> This kind of poem is fundamentally different from that in which Cerveri attacked jongleurs. The former were personal *sirventes*, having the purpose of amusing an audience. Cerveri's was a moral *sirventes*, having a general importance, and aiming at improving the morals of a class of men whose life he considered to be impious. For Cerveri to have borrowed some of his anti-jongleur remarks from those poems does not affect in the least the basic difference between his poem<sup>13</sup> and the so-called *sirventes joglaresc*.

Among the poems published by Witthoeft there are some which he groups separately under the title of "professional satire." They have nothing in common with the type of poem which he calls *sirventes joglaresc*. On the other hand, the title of "professional satire" could give the impression that they were akin to Cerveri's poem. This is not the case. Three of the four poems that constitute this group do not even deserve that title: (1) Aimeric de Pegulhan, *Li fol el put el fillol* (Gr. 10, 32), which, though containing some general remarks, is nothing but a personal attack against a number of jongleurs singled out by name (Sordel, Persaval, Peire Guillem de Luserna, Cantarel,<sup>14</sup> Trufarel, Nicolet); (2) Palais, Gr. 315, 4, a *cobla*, which is probably an answer to Peire de la Mula's *coblas* (see below) and ridiculing this author; (3) Palais, Gr. 315, 3, also a *cobla*, which blames people in Lombardy for bestowing presents on persons who are not worthy of them.

Only one of this group of four poems could be said to contain something like a general condemnation of jongleurs, that written by Peire de la Mula, Gr. 352, 1. Witthoeft, following Bartsch's *Grundriss*, treats it as one poem. In reality, there are two poems united

<sup>9</sup> See Zenker, *Die Gedichte des Folquet von Romans* (Halle, 1896), pp. 35-39, and the literature given by him; Appel, *Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, vol. 17 (1896), pp. 167-68; Storost, *Ursprung u. Entwicklung des Sirventes etc.*, Romanist. Arb., No. 17 (Halle, 1931), p. 99, and notes 2 and 3; Storost, *Litbl.*, vol. 60 (1939), p. 520. It is worth mentioning that Pillet seems to have tacitly adopted Witthoeft's thesis; his Bibliography at least uses the name *sirventes joglaresc* in the sense Witthoeft had given it.

<sup>10</sup> Storost, *Litbl.*, vol. 60, p. 520, holds this request to be fictitious.

<sup>11</sup> Schultz-Gora, *Litbl.*, vol. 12 (1891), p. 237, refuses to believe that this could have been possible. I am not of his opinion.

<sup>12</sup> See the notes to the edition of our Poem II.

<sup>13</sup> There are poems of the sort by Giraut de Bornelh, Bertran de Born, Raimon de Miraval, Dalfin d'Alvernia, Jausbert de Puycibot, Uc de San Circ.

<sup>14</sup> Bertoni (*Trovatori d'Italia*, p. 60) has *Encantarel*; but see Schultz-Gora, *Arch. f. d. St. der neuer. Spr.*, vol. 134, p. 198.

under the above number of the *Grundriss*.<sup>15</sup> One comprises two stanzas of eight lines each, and complains of the great number of arrogant jongleurs who overrun the country (i.e., Lombardy). The second, a *cobla* of sixteen lines and of a metrical structure entirely different from the first, blames the intrusiveness of the jongleurs who, on the mere ground that they are jongleurs, expect people to "give" to them. It is remarkable that, in the second poem, the author speaks only of Normans and Bretons. According to the Provençal biography, Peire was a jongleur himself. So the reason for this animosity is not hard to guess: it is jealousy and fear of foreign competition. Here, again, there is no trace of "professional satire" based on general ideas.

This survey shows that Cerveri's anti-jongleur poem is indeed unique in Provençal literature. Just as unique is his poem in defense of jongleurs. There is a *tenso* between Guillem Augier Novella and Bertran d'Aurel (Gr. 205, 1) in which the former wants to know which profession is more shameful, that of jongleur or that of robber. Augier, the one who takes the side of the jongleurs, speaks more about the disadvantages of being a robber than about the advantages of being a *joglar*. There is, however, one sentence (stanza III) that praises the life of the latter, and in terms that vividly remind us of line 5 of Cerveri's poem:

E joglar sercan baros e gaia gen  
e viron az onransa.

There may be some other occasional remarks in favor of jongleurs in Provençal literature. I know of only one passage that defends jongleurs on principle and for social and humane reasons. It is not a poem written for this particular purpose, as Cerveri's is; it occurs in Sordel's long didactical treatise in verse, the *Documentum Honoris*. If Sordel was not really a *joglar*, though his personal adversary, Peire Bremon, called him one,<sup>16</sup> he led a life as rich in adventure as that of any jongleur. Nothing in his lines, however, shows that he might have written them in a kind of self-defense,<sup>17</sup> so nobly and

<sup>15</sup> Bertoni (*loc. cit.*, pp. 245 and 247) reproduces them separately.

<sup>16</sup> Gr. 330, 9 (ed. Boutière. No. XVI), lines 17-20:

Joglars es, a ma parvensa,  
fals ab lecharia,  
e viu sai, per ma crezensa,  
per sa joglaria.

Cf. also the above-mentioned poem of Aimeric de Pegulhan (Gr. 10, 32), where he is named together with jongleurs.

<sup>17</sup> It remains open to question in which of the two categories of individuals named by him in the above-quoted lines Sordel would have liked to be counted, *joglar* or *pauvre cavalier*. According to the shorter of the two Provençal biographies (ed. De Lollis, p. 148) he was the son of a *pauvre cavalier*.

generally humane they appear to us (ed. De Lollis, No. XXXX, lines 563 ff.):

- De tres genz no deu dire mal  
 nulz oms que am fin pretz cabal:  
 565. de dopnas ni de cavaliers  
 paubres, que-l mals es trop sobriers,  
 ni de juglars; quar, ses conten,  
 cel fai trop mortal faillimen  
 qui bassa zo que's deu levar.  
 570. Donx, con aus'om dompnas baissar  
 qu'om deu onrar e car tener,  
 amar e prezar e temer?  
 Ni cavalier paubre con ausa  
 destrigar nulz per nulla causa,  
 575. qui om deu donnar e servir,  
 enanzar e gen acuellir?  
 Ni joglars, qui non podon ges  
 viure mas per autras merces,  
 com pot nulz om desenanzar?  
 580. Melz lor degra per dreg donar.  
 Donx es razos, qui-l dreg enten,  
 de tot ome pro ni valen  
 que aquestas tres genz enanz  
 e non sia en re destriganz,  
 585. mas, si be-i ve, ben en dia  
 e cal lo mal per cortezia,  
 qu'aitan gran[s] cortezia es  
 calar los mals quan dir los bes.<sup>18</sup>

### (3) *Literary value*

Compared to this chivalrous attitude, Cerveri's argumentation appears rather poor and not quite to the point. Somebody had compared jongleurs and hangmen, though we do not know in what respect. What could he have meant by putting hangmen and jongleurs on the same level but that, in his opinion, both classes of men were made social outlaws by their professions? Cerveri takes this comparison to the letter and fights it in a double way. He explains the differences between the pursuits of a hangman and those of a *joglar* by stating, in the last two lines of each stanza, what he thinks to be the typical modes of behavior of each of them. These statements are made on a purely imaginary and theoretical basis, and it is not amazing that the principal verbal form used is the conditional mood. On the other hand, Cerveri backs his defense by holding up examples of good or noble deeds done by jongleurs. In a typically medieval way he takes these deeds for proven facts, though all of them are either legendary or are taken from works of fiction, invented, in all probability, by jongleurs to fight the contempt in which their class was generally held. Viewed from the stylistic standpoint, this twofold way of argu-

<sup>18</sup> These lines seem to justify the favorable opinion which Schultz-Gora expresses on behalf of Sordel's work in *Zschr. f. rom. Phil.*, vol. 12 (1888), p. 270.



mentation is not without skill. It would have been still more impressive if Cerveri had established a relation between the factual and theoretical parts of the stanzas as between facts and the conclusions to be drawn from those facts. Unfortunately no inner connection seems to exist between the examples given in the beginning of each stanza and the moral statement at the end.

Among the honorable achievements of jongleurs with which Cerveri illustrates his defense many will miss the touching tale of the discovery, in a German prison, of Richard Lionheart by his faithful jongleur Blondel, as it has been told in the *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*. Instead, the second poem offers that other legend in which a jongleur betrays Richard to his deadly enemy, the King of Germany, thus causing the English sovereign's imprisonment. This is the only illustrative example in the second of Cerveri's jongleur poems, and it makes a queer impression in its singleness. Thus the second poem does not show that rather happy mixture of fact and theory which constitutes the value of the first poem. Moreover, it lacks the humorous vein that rendered the other anti-jongleur poems, the so-called *sirventes joglaresc*, so attractive, attractive to a certain degree even for modern readers. It borrows, though, from the latter some of those insufficiencies and blemishes with which the authors of the *sirventes joglaresc* reproached the victims of their attacks.<sup>19</sup> Everything in Cerveri's poem is tuned to a tone of fatherly worry about the risk which jongleurs run regarding their salvation. The first stanza, a kind of introduction, exhorts jongleurs to give up their profession, emphasizing its sinfulness and humiliating character. The second stanza, with its rhetorical repetition of the word *minten* (or *mintetz*), impressively points out that this profession is entirely built up on lies. The third and fourth stanzas deal with more worldly things, i.e., those defects in education and morals we just spoke of. The fifth stanza, finally, comes full circle, resuming the conjuring tone of the beginning and advising jongleurs to put their musical or poetical gifts into the service of the Blessed Virgin; it thus shows them a way of saving their souls by the achievements of the very profession that threatens to ruin them. The poem is by no means the product of a poetical genius, but it is not without merit. It is a kind of poetical sermon composed on what seems to be a well-pondered plan, set forth in simple language and simple versification, and imbued with a remarkable tone of sincerity. Whether this sincerity is genuine we are unable to make out, nor is it our task to do so.

#### (4) Versification

Poem I comprises, besides two *tornadas*, six *coblas unisonans*, each of which has six decasyllabic lines of the following scheme: 10a 10b 10b 10a 10c' 10c'. The rhymes are anything but rare: -ar,

<sup>19</sup> For details see the notes to Poem II.



-en, -ia. The last two lines of each stanza offer an internal rhyme (-an) after the fourth syllable, i.e., in the caesura. The poet has made no effort to adjust this rhyme to the grammatical or prosodic requirements. It more than once destroys the caesura, which, when strictly observed as a pause, would separate those parts of the sentence that are intimately connected with each other according to sense and grammar. We find the caesura between the parts of the well-known phrase *anar* + gerund (*van siguen*, line 5), between adjective and noun (*gran goug*, line 12), between *can que* (line 11) introducing a concessive clause, and between an expression of quantity and the qualifier depending on it by means of the preposition *de* (*aytan d'enjan*, line 36). In line 35 the pause should not be after *nomnan* but after *tal*, i.e., between the object (*tal*) and the predicative noun *clerc*. Cerveri apparently liked this strophic structure, for he uses it in at least twelve other pieces of his lyrical poetry. But none of these has internal rhymes or, unlike our poem, the same rhymes at the end of the lines. Nor does any exhibit the same arrangement of masculine and feminine rhymes, whether of masculine rhymes only<sup>20</sup> or of masculine with feminine rhymes at other places in the stanza. We may therefore assume that Poem I, however slightly its form may differ from the others, was intended by its author to have an original form and maybe a melody of its own. The name of *vers*<sup>21</sup> which the MS gave to the poem corroborates this conclusion.

Poem II, consisting of 5 stanzas and two *tornadas*, has only one rhyme (-ia) for all 34 lines. The poet is skillful enough to avoid obscure phrases, far-fetched expressions, or unnatural grammatical constructions which often are the consequences of such a prosodic strain. It would even seem that he has oversimplified his task by using the suffix and the flexional ending -ia in 23 of the 34 cases (11 nouns, 12 verbal forms, viz., imperfect and conditional). In only 11 words does the *i* of -ia form part of the stem. Another token of intentional simplicity can be found in the fact that, without taking the two *tornadas* into account, there are only four lines (3, 19, 23, 29) which offer a kind of enjambment. In the remaining cases the end of the line coincides with a distinct grammatical pause. This phenomenon, together with the fact that the whole poem runs on one single rhyme, reminds us of the epic technique of *laissez*. It is indeed not

<sup>20</sup> This is true, e.g., of Gr. 434a, 48. Its three rhymes are: -en, -at, -os. The form of this poem is no doubt an imitation of Uc Brunenc, Gr. 450, 3, with its rhymes -ens, -atz, -os. Nevertheless, for reasons explained above, Uc's poem is not likely to have been the prosodic model for Cerveri's other poems of similar structure.

<sup>21</sup> *Leys d'Amors: Vers deu haver lonc so e pauzat e noel* (Appel, *Prov. Chrest.*, 6, 124, 10).

impossible that the form of our poem<sup>22</sup> goes back to an epic model. There are two poems offering the same form: (1) Guiraut de Luc, Gr. 245, 1, a *sirventes* with *-ona* as its rhyme, (2) a *tenso* between Bonafe and Blacatz, Gr. 98, 2, with *-cira*. Guiraut himself tells us that he formed his *sirventes* on an epic model (ed. Kolsen, *Dicht. der Trobadors*, No. 41, lines 1-2; cf. note p. 196):

Ges, si tot m'ai ma voluntat fellona,  
no-m lais non chant el son 'Boves d'Antona.'

As Guiraut's idea to sing a poem on an epic melody is both peculiar and exceptional, Bonafe as well as Cerveri should be supposed to have followed his example. Chronology does not oppose this assumption, since Guiraut probably lived in the last third of the 12th century,<sup>23</sup> nor is it amazing that Guiraut's imitators should have chosen another rhyme. It would indeed have been very hard to compose a second poem with all its lines ending in *-ona*. The *sirventes* was not the kind of poem about whose melody and versification Provençal poets used to trouble themselves too much.

Cerveri has taken care to construct the individual lines according to the strictest metrical rules. The three so-called lyric caesuras (line 4 after *home*, line 13 after *candela*, line 24 after *sepulcre*) are perfectly in accord with those rules. Only line 29 may appear a little irregular, having its caesura after *cantar* (6th syllable) rather than after *chan* (4th syllable). It thus forms a decasyllabic verse of the structure 6 + 4 (instead of 4 + 6), which, however, is by no means anything unheard of even in the best Provençal lyrics.

### III. TEXTS

#### I

#### Los Vers del Saig e del Joglar<sup>24</sup>

1. Si cel que ditz entre saig e jutglar  
no sab ne ve ne conoix partimen,
3. dic que be sab que qui no ditz ver, men.  
Que grans vertutz volc Deus per juglars far,  
e juglar van siguen los bos tot dia,
6. e saig cercan los avols tota via.

<sup>22</sup> Two others of Cerveri's poems consist of identically constructed stanzas. One of them (Gr. 434, 7a) has four stanzas, two of them with the rhyme *-ia*, two with *-ava*. The other poem (Gr. 434a, 32) has only three stanzas. All of them have the rhyme *-ia* in common for the last three lines; in the first three lines the rhymes differ (st. I: *-orsa*, st. II: *-ire*, st. III: *-enha*).

<sup>23</sup> See Jeanroy, *Poésie lyr. des troubad.* (Paris, 1934), I, 383.

<sup>24</sup> F. A. Ugolini, *Il canzoniere inedito de Cerveri di Girona*, Memorie della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, Anno 333, serie VI, vol. V, fasc. VI (Rome, 1936), pp. 513-683, No. 45. Pillet-Carstens, 434a, 57. MS S<sup>r</sup>.

- II. Sans Genis ac offici de juglar  
ez amet Deu e servic leyalmen,  
9. e Deus det li lo conpayno viven  
qu'en paradis devi'ab lui estar;  
e juglars, can c'obs li fos, li daria,  
12. e saigs ab gran gaug lo pe li tolria.
- III. La candela d'Arraz fo de juglar,  
per qui Deus fay miracles a presen,  
15. e juglars vol que tuit sion valen,  
e saig a gaug de tol'r'e de raubar.  
Juglars, celan, a mort lo deffendria,  
18. e saigs, lian pel col, lo penjaria.
- IV. Tebes sabem qu'estorcet per jutglar,  
con volc aucir Alexandris la gen.  
21. Mantas patz fan juglar, bels ditz dizen,  
per que no fan ab saig a comparar.  
Juglars denan totz l'escuzaria  
24. e saigs, doblan lo mal, l'acuzaria.
- V. Daurels ac nom, eixamen de jutglar,  
qui pel seynor det son fyll a turmen.  
27. D'aytals jutglars comtera mais de cen,  
si non duptes del vers trop alonjar.  
Car juglar dan alegre cortezia,  
30. e saigs tot l'an tristor, ir' e feunia.
- VI. Eu no razo per mi meteis juglar  
ne suy juglars n'en fau captenimen;  
33. car ço qu'eu fatz fan l'aut rey entenden.  
Mas mans noms aug a mans amans carjar;  
c'om vay nomnan tal clerc on es falsia  
36. ez ab aytan d'enjan con de clercia.
- VII. Sobrepretz blan, e leys dels Cartz volria  
ab d'onor tan con eu deziraria.
- VIII. Si, motz laçan, trobars es juglaria,  
40. [s']eu e-l rey chan, n'em juglar d'una guia.  
(16. saug. — 40. [s']eu]eu; guia] gisa.)

## (Translation)

I. To him who says that between a hangman and a jongleur he neither knows nor sees nor is aware of any difference I reply that he knows very well that the one who does not say the truth tells a lie. For God has chosen to achieve great miracles through jongleurs, and jongleurs always seek the company of good people, and hangmen ever are in search of bad ones.

II. St. Genesis had the profession of a jongleur and loved God and served Him loyally, and God gave him, while he was still alive, the companion who would stay with him in paradise, and the jongleur, however needy he might be, would "give" to him (?), but the hangman would, with great joy, cut off his (?) foot.

III. The candle of Arras through which God works wonders at present came from a jongleur, and the jongleur wants everybody to be worthy, but the hangman is delighted with stealing and robbing. The minstrel, by con-

cealing him (?), would try to save his (?) life, but the hangman, by putting the halter round his (?) neck, would hang him (?).

IV. We know that Thebes was saved by a jongleur when Alexander killed the people (of the town). Many an agreement is brought about by jongleurs saying nice words. Therefore you cannot compare them to hangmen: the jongleur would excuse him (?) to everybody, but the hangman, doubling his (?) fault, would accuse him (?).

V. Daurel was also the name of a jongleur who, for the love of his liege lord, delivered his own son to torment. Of such jongleurs I could enumerate more than a hundred, if I were not afraid of extending the *vers* too much. For jongleurs propagate joyful courteousness, but hangmen eternally cause sadness, grief, and sorrow.

VI. It is not for my own sake that I defend jongleurs, nor am I a jongleur nor do I lead a jongleur's life. For what I do is also done by high and competent kings. But many a name is heard given to many a lover, and many a one is called an ecclesiastic in whom there is falsehood and as much deceit as there is erudition.

VII. I love *Sobreprez*, and I would like to see the Lady of the Thistles (provided) with as much honor as I could wish.

VIII. I and the king sing, and if to compose poems by interlacing words is jongleurship, we are (both) jongleurs in the same way.

#### Notes

1. *Si cel que ditz que . . . dic que . . .* The sentence lacks syntactical sequence, the conditional clause *Si cel . . .* having no verb. The simplest way of remedying the anacoluthon would be to substitute *A* for *Si*, and our translation is made accordingly. But it does not seem very likely that the first word of a poem would be wrong. So the bad construction may have to be put down to the negligence of the author himself, the more so as some other inadvertences seem to occur in the poem (see lines 11-12, 17-18, 23-24).

2. *partimen*. There is no other evidence of this word meaning "difference." The verb *partir* with the sense of "to distinguish" seems to occur in a passage from Gr. 434a, 77, line 22, where Cerveri addresses God: *Tu qui partz mals e bes* (cf. Gen. 3, 5: *Et eritis sicut dii, scientes bonum et malum*). It can easily have developed from *partir* denoting "to separate" and the custom of elaborating the "different" sides of a dilemmatical problem in the literary genre of the *partimen*.

3. *qui no ditz ver, men* seems to have been a kind of proverb. Cnyrim, *Sprichwörter . . .* (Ausg. und Abh. LXXI [Marburg, 1888], Nos. 655-56), lists it in the reverse form: *qui men no ditz ver*.

6. *cercan*, gerund dependent, like *siguen*, on *van* (line 5).

7. *Sans Genis*. The usual form of this saint's name is Old French *Genois*, Old Provençal *Geneis*. The saint was a Roman mimus who lived at the time of the emperor Diocletian. In one of his roles in which he had to ridicule the Christian mysteries, the truth of Christendom was suddenly revealed to him, and he confessed it before the audience. Cerveri is not likely to have thought of this legend because what is said in the following line (*ez amet Deu e servic leyalmen*)

does not agree with the life of this early Christian martyr. He rather refers to the *Geneis* to whom the Provençal MS C attributes a religious poem, calling him *Geneys, lo joglars a cui lo voutz de Lucas donet so sotlar*. This attribution is, of course, impossible (see Pillet, *Zschr. f. rom. Phil.*, vol. 47, p. 325). The story of this *Geneis*, told in Old French verse, has been published by Foerster (*Rom. Forsch.*, vol. 23, pp. 1 ff.). *Geneis*, having fiddled for the people all day without earning a penny, finally sang and played his instrument before the statue of Christ. The statue threw down to him one of its valuable shoes. The bishop put it back in its place, but the statue threw it down again. So the bishop paid the jongleur a certain sum of money for the shoe. With the money thus earned *Geneis* fed the poor. Later on, heathens to whom he played killed him because he emphasized his faith in Christ. Another legend of the same type, the *Tumbeör Notre Dame* (ed. H. Wächter, *Rom. Forsch.*, vol. 11, pp. 223 ff.), a much more artistic presentation, has been popularized by Anatole France's charming short story *Le Jongleur de Notre Dame*, and retold to the American public by Alexander Woollcott ("Our Lady's Juggler," *Reader's Digest* [October, 1941], p. 15). Here it is a statue of the Virgin that plays the miraculous part; it comes down from its pedestal to wipe the sweat from the forehead of the jongleur, who is exhausted by the professional exercises which he has executed before the statue of Saint Mary. Since Cerveri gives no details, it is hard to say which of the two versions he had in mind.

8. *Deu* is object to both *amet* and *servic*. It is not infrequent that a qualifier logically belonging to either of two coördinate parts of a sentence is named only with the first of them. Some examples:<sup>28</sup> (a) an object: (1) accusative (as in our case): *Qu'ab largueza quel reis Paris fazia Hac Elena et [la] trais de son estatge*, Guionet-Raembaut, Gr. 238, 2 (ed. Kolsen, *Trobadorgedichte*, p. 40), VI, 3; *E'n Richartz assetjet borcs e castels e pres terras e [los, las] derochet et ars et abraset*, "Razo" to Bertran de Born, Gr. 80, 13 (ed. Appel, No. 14), lines 10-11; *Per que'ls cosseil, si nuls fes mal ni dis [mal]* . . . , Bertr. de Born lo fills, Gr. 81, 1a (ed. Kolsen, *Neuphil. Mitteil.*, vol. 37, p. 285), I, 5; see also our Poem II, line 4. (2) dative: *De bon talen m'autrey a vos e m ren [a vos]*, Gauc. Faidit, Gr. 167, 30a (ed. Kolsen, *Zschr. f. f. z. Spr. u. Lit.*, vol. 58, p. 61), V, 3. (3) both objects: *Eu noncaül fis anc mal ni [l] dis [mal]*, Uc de S. Circ, Gr. 185, 2 (ed. Jeanroy-Salverda de Grave, p. 136), V, 8. (b) adverbial adjunct: . . . *con ieu vos ai totz deliuratz d'aquesta prison e gitatz [d'aquesta prison]*, "Jaufre" (ed. Breuer), line 2012; *Qu'ieu non ai sens ni vigor Que'm puesca de leis partir ni l cor [de leis] loignar ni frezir*, Jausb. de Puycibot, Gr. 173, 8 (ed. Shepard, p. 25), V, 2; *Que'l bes qu'ieu fas ven de lieys e dissen [de lieys]*, Gauc.

<sup>28</sup> We add the missing qualifiers in brackets.

Faidit, Gr. 167, 30a (ed. Kolsen, *Zschr. f. f. Spr. u. Lit.*, vol. 56, p. 61), I, 9. (c) adverb: *E vostra grans beutatz M'abellis tant e m platz [tant] Que . . .*, Peire Raim. de Tol., Gr. 355, 15 (ed. Cavaliere, p. 86), III, 8; *Per que Amors mi destreing si e m te [si] Qu'ieu non puese plus cobrir ma malanansa*, Gauc. Faidit, Gr. 167, 20 (ed. Kolsen, *Zschr. f. f. Spr. u. Lit.*, vol. 58, p. 56), III, 12; *E dirai vos cal vuoill plus ni m'agensa [plus]*, Guill. de la Tor-Imbert, Gr. 236, 8 (ed. Blasi, p. 45), II, 14; *E tals sos fachs fai folamen Que parla gen e razona [gen]*, Gir. de Bornelh, Gr. 242, 77 (ed. Kolsen, No. 67), II, 6. (d) *de* + noun forming an attribute to another noun: *Cel de cui eron (sc. li banh) fo amix D'en Archimbaut e fort privat* [d'en A.], "Flamenca" (ed. P. Meyer<sup>2</sup>), line 1487; *Tan m'angoissal cortezia E l gai solatz De leis e la gran beutatz [de leis]*, Peirol, Gr. 366, 22 (Mahn, *Gedichte*, 1010), IV, 5; *E maintas greus dolors . . . Sent e maint desplazer Cel q'estai en poder d'amor et en bailia [d'amor]*, Uc de S. Circ, Gr. 457, 20 (ed. Jeanroy-Salverda de Grave, p. 46), I, 7; *Tan tem l'orguelh del mon e la bobansa [del mon]*, Peire Cardenal, Gr. 335, 24 (Mahn, *Gedichte*, 1241), I, 4; *A vos, merces, vueil dire mon affaire Del mal d'amor e de la forfaitura [d'amor]*, Peire Milo, Gr. 349, 2 (ed. Appel, *Prov. Inedita*, p. 239), I, 2.<sup>26</sup> (e) a noun belonging to two coördinate attributive adjectives: *Car l'amava de fin cor e de bon [cor]*, Anonym., Gr. 461, 133b (ed. Pellegrini), line 181.

9. *conpayno*. This companion can be none other than Christ or the Virgin, according to the legend which Cerveri had in mind. It is a strange coincidence that the religious poem mentioned in the note to line 7 and attributed to Geneys (ed. Zenker, *Peire von Auvergne*, p. 152) speaks twice of such a divine companionship: *E vos, reis celestials, Ressuscitetz al tertz dia, La vostr'eternal paria Prec que m defenda de dan* (IV, 8) and *E lais mi de ben far tan Que, quan morrai, l'arma's n'an En la vostra companhia* (V, 11).<sup>27</sup> The word *conpayno* used by Cerveri is masculine, it is true, but nevertheless applicable to Mary; cf. *Falha'm poders debes mon companhier De tal guisa que no'm puosch'aiudar*, B. de Born, Gr. 80, 15 (ed. Appel, No. 4), III, 5, and Tobler-Lommatzsch, *Altfrz. Wörterbuch*, II, p. 616, 32: "*Je t'ai duné un cumpainun*," says God to Adam, speaking of Eve.

9. *viven*. That companion being either Christ or his mother, *viven* cannot be an attribute to *companho*. It is to be referred to *li* in one of those loose connections, inaccurate according to the strict rules of

<sup>26</sup> Appel, *loc. cit.*, p. xxviii, names this passage under the head of "Separation of coördinate parts of a sentence." This classification does not seem to do justice to the nature of the phenomenon.

<sup>27</sup> Or is this similarity more than a mere coincidence? Did Cerveri know the poem of that legendary colleague? Not necessarily. For other poets also spoke of companionship in connection with God: *Qu'aissi valra sos rics pretz per un cen Si acuelh Dieu hui mais a companho*, Folq. de Mars., Gr. 155, 15 (ed. Stronski, No. XIX), V, 8.

grammar, in which a gerund can be found with any part of the sentence besides the subject: *Amors, mes m'avetz en afan, Quar suy ves vos obediens; E si'm laissatz morir aman* (belongs to 'm), *Atendretz mal mos covinens*, Bern. de Pradas, Gr. 65, 3 (ed. Appel, *Prov. Inédita*, p. 37), II, 3; *Et aissi aucim deziran* (belongs to 'm'), Jausb. de Puyc., Gr. 173, 9 (ed. Shepard, p. 28), III, 8.<sup>28</sup> So *viven* emphasizes the striking fact that, by throwing down his shoe or descending from her pedestal, Christ or Mary made it clear to the jongleur while he was still living that the pious man would enjoy their company in paradise.

11. *can c'obs li fos, li daria*. It seems evident at first that these lines refer to the poverty of the jongleur who offered God all he could give: the performance of his physical and musical skill. If this assumption is right, the second *li* would be God or the Virgin. The next line, however, shows that this is hardly possible.

12. *lo pe li tolria*. Cutting off a person's foot was a punishment frequently inflicted in the Middle Ages. Levy, *Prov. Suppl. Wb.*, VIII, 259, s.v. *tolre*, No. 1 "abschneiden, abhauen," gives two prose examples. Here is one from troubadour poetry in which a fictitious robbery is supposed to have been punished this way: *Que l'us perdet lo pe per dos capos e'l poing destre*, Blacatz-Peire Vidal, Gr. 97, 3 (ed. Anglade, No. 47), I, 3. But who is the person whose foot the executioner would like to cut off? According to the wording, it should be the same person as the one designated by the second *li* in line 11, viz., God or the Virgin. An absurd idea! So the tentative interpretation given to line 11 in the preceding note cannot be right. The only explanation possible seems to be the following. The poet only wanted to characterize the attitude which, under certain conditions not specified by him, the hangman and the jongleur are expected to take towards each other. If such has really been the poet's intention, the second *li* in line 11 is the hangman, and the *li* of line 12 is the jongleur (cf. above, pp. 420-21, "Literary Value," and below, notes to lines 17-18 and 23-24).

13. *La candela d'Arraz*. This is the legendary and miracle-working candle which, in the presence of Bishop Lambert, the statue of the Virgin, descending one night from its place in the choir, handed to the jongleurs Itier and Norman, after it had been lit by celestial fire. Thus the two men, enemies till then, became friends and founded the Arras *confrérie* (see Faral, *Les Jongleurs en France au moyen âge* [Paris, 1910], pp. 134 ff.).

14. *qui* stands for *cui*; see Schultz-Gora, *Prov. Studien*, p. 62, and my remark in *Neuphil. Mitteil.*, vol. 39, p. 246. This accusative *cui* or *qui* refers to a noun denoting a thing (*candela*), which is ex-

<sup>28</sup> For more examples see my remark in *Zschr. f. rom. Phil.*, vol. 48 (1928), pp. 603-05, concerning *baten*, which occurs several times in the romance of Jaufre. Cf. also line 39 of our poem.



tremely rare in Old Provençal (cf. Schultz-Gora, *Altprov. El. Buch*,<sup>6</sup> §124, and Appel, *Prov. Chrest.*, 6, p. xvii, note 1). It occurs sometimes in "Jaufre" (ed. Breuer): *E sia larcs, quant s'eschaira, Segon lo poder qui (que MS A, qe MS C) aura*, line 7302; *Aissi atent so qui (qe MS A) coven*, line 6209. There is, however, a slight possibility that Cerveri meant his *qui* to stand for *juglar* (line 13). It was the candle indeed that worked the miracles, not the jongleur. But maybe the poet, in his effort to whitewash jongleurs, wanted to transfer people's gratitude for those miracles from the candle to the man who received it from the mother of Christ.

15. Allusion, no doubt, to the numerous moral songs made or recited by jongleurs in which they exhorted their audience to be *valen*.

16. It is not that the hangman himself enjoys stealing and robbing, but, since it is his duty to punish those crimes, he likes seeing them perpetrated by others.

17. *celan*. This gerund has no object, but it is easy to supply one since it is the same as that of *deffendria* (sc. *lo*, or better *lui*, standing before a gerund); cf. Schultz-Gora, *Altprov. El. Buch*,<sup>7</sup> §177. We find the same phenomenon in line 18. — *a mort*. The verb *defendre* shows different prepositions to introduce the thing or person against which or whom you want to defend something or somebody: (1) *contra*: *E si li bo volian*<sup>29</sup> *drech defendre Contra los crois, ni lo ser ni l mati nol pogran far*, Gir. de Born., Gr. 242, 52a (ed. Kolsen, No. 69), IV, 2; (2) *ves*: *E nom par que si defenda ves el . . .*, Bertr. de Born., Gr. 80, 35 (ed. Appel, No. 22), III, 6; (3) *de*: *Diatz ab quem defendria dels avols mal ensenhatz*, Gir. de Born., Gr. 242, 70 (ed. Kolsen, No. 16), II, 11;<sup>30</sup> (4) *a*: *Pos a leis nom posc defendre*, Gir. de Born., Gr. 242, 36 (ed. Kolsen, No. 45), II, 6;<sup>31</sup> *Tal m'avetz tornat c'a lucha No m defendri ad un manc*, Gr. 242, 59 (ed. Kolsen, No. 18), III, 2;<sup>32</sup> *Menar me pot ab un prim fil, Qu'ieu nom vuoil a lieys defendre*, Raim. de Miraval, Gr. 406, 18 (ed. Kolsen, *Beiträge*, No. 25), VI, 2; *Que tostemps pessés del defendre Sa terra a sos enemics*, Guill. de la Barra (ed. P. Meyer), line 2449. Each of these constructions would seem justified according to the angle from which the aggressor is viewed (cf. Engl., *to defend from or against*, German, *sich schützen vor or gegen*).

17-18. Here again the question must be raised which person is meant with *lo* appearing in either of these lines. Is it the robber who, though not named expressly, is present to the poet's mind after what

<sup>29</sup> MS: *volran son*; Kolsen: *volran lor*; see Lewent, *Zum Text der Lieder des Giraut de Bornelh* (Florence, 1938), pp. 96-97.

<sup>30</sup> Kolsen (translation and vocabulary): "sich erwehren."

<sup>31</sup> Kolsen: "sich entziehen"; other MSS have *de*.

<sup>32</sup> This passage is evidence for *defendre a* only provided that one does not prefer reading: *defendria d'un manc*; cf. *Zum Text der Lieder des G. de B.*, p. 18.

he has said in line 16? But what reasons could the jongleur have to conceal and defend a robber? Is it, according to the explanation given for the two *li* in lines 11 and 12, the hangman in line 17, and the jongleur in line 18, to show, quite generally and theoretically, the one's goodness and the other's wickedness in their imaginary attitude towards each other?

18. *lian*: see note to line 17 (*celan*). *Pel col* might as well be connected with *penjaria*; in this case the comma would have to be put after *lian*.

19. *Tebes*.<sup>33</sup> The poet alludes to the Thebes episode of the medieval legend of Alexander the Great. His words, however, do not seem in accord with any of its known versions. First there is the verb *estorcer*. In its intransitive use it cannot denote anything else than "to escape, to be saved" (Levy, *Prov. Suppl. Wb.*, III, p. 333, No. 4). But the town did not escape Alexander's wrath. The king had it completely destroyed, and it was not until he had had his full revenge that he ordered or permitted the town to be rebuilt and repopulated. In the Latin versions,<sup>34</sup> this restoration of the town is not due to the influence of a jongleur; on the contrary, all the efforts of the Theban musician to mollify Alexander are in vain. Only later, when the Theban athlete Clitomachus distinguishes himself at the games held at Corinth, does the king grant that Thebes be rebuilt. So we find Cerveri following the Old French version of *Alexandre de Paris*.<sup>35</sup> Here the minstrel appears in full glory. Alexander is so much pleased with his musical skill that he gives the town to the *harpeor*, and the king does not move from there till it is completely rebuilt and repopulated. But in the French version, the town is called *Trage*, not *Tebes*. Professor Foulet suggests that the change of name may have to be attributed to the *nécessités supérieures de la rime*. But the name of the town appears, as far as I know, only once in the rhyme. Should the poet who composed thousands and thousands of verses really not have been able to avoid putting that name in the rhyme instead of falsifying it? On the other hand, if Cerveri had known and adopted the French version, why did he not call the town *Trage* as his source did? It is also remarkable that Cerveri failed to play his best trump in his defense of jongleurs, viz., the fact that this jongleur even became the lord of a flourishing town. Did he neglect this important fact purposely because he wanted to emphasize the

<sup>33</sup> For the knowledge of the facts and sources on which this note is based I am largely indebted to Prof. Alfred Foulet. I want to thank him here again for his great kindness.

<sup>34</sup> See Friedrich Pfister, *Der Alexanderroman des Archipresbyters Leo*, Samml. mittellat. Texte, ed. Hilka, No. 6 (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 73 ff.; Oswald Zingerle, *Die Quellen zum Alexander des Rudolf von Ems* (Germanist. Abh., ed. Weinhold, IV), pp. 163 ff.

<sup>35</sup> *The Medieval French Roman d'Alexandre*, II: *Version of Alexandre de Paris*, ed. Armstrong, Buffum, Edwards, Lowe, Elliott Monogr. No. 37 (Princeton, 1937), lines 2598 ff.

jongleur's nobility in helping Thebes so as to contrast it with the hangman's meanness?

Cerveri can hardly be expected to have known the Latin versions. He could, however, have found the right name of the town in the Spanish *Libro de Alixandre* (ed. Raymond S. Willis, Jr., Elliott Monographs, No. 32). But the *Libro*, too, like the Latin versions, makes the jongleur fail completely in his attempt at saving the town. It follows them also in relating that Thebes was restored only after Alexander's visit to the Corinth games. Moreover, the author of the *Libro* treats the restoration of the town so incidentally that he devotes to it only the last two lines of the last of the 28 stanzas (216-43) telling the Thebes episode:

Tebas fue destroyda finco toda quemada  
fizo luego el rey a Corintya la tornada  
por un ombre que hy vino fue despues restaurada  
por un salto que fizo diogela en soldada.

Under these circumstances, could the Spanish version have been Cerveri's source? Professor Foulet says yes. He assumes that Cerveri, starting from the *Libro*, changed the tradition and made a jongleur save the town, just as Alexandre de Paris had done and for the same reason, i.e., in *maiozem joculatoris gloriam*. I cannot agree with this assumption. In making a jongleur succeed, Cerveri would have had to forget completely that the *Libro* had made a jongleur fail. Cerveri, moreover, was not in the same position as Alexandre de Paris, who submitted to his audience something new, and, as a story-teller, was master of what and how he composed. Cerveri only makes an allusion to a well-known event. Did the Catalan troubadour know another version, unknown to us, in which Thebes was not destroyed at all and the jongleur played the very role our poet attributes to him? Or did he know this legend of King Alexander only superficially, having, when he wrote his poem, only a vague and inexact remembrance of the jongleur episode in the *Roman d'Alexandre*?<sup>20</sup> We shall be confronted with a similar problem in lines 23-24 of Poem II, concerning the legend of Richard Lionheart.

<sup>20</sup> Originally I thought even worse of Cerveri. I was inclined to suppose that in a vague remembrance of the Ovidian heroine Thisbe—her name is generally *Tibes* in Old Provençal, while that of the Greek town is always *Tebas*—he took *Tebes* for a woman whom he had had a jongleur save when Alexander was going to kill her. Consequently, before defining *la gen* (line 20), according to Prof. Foulet's suggestion, as "the people," I considered it to be an attribute of the woman *Tebes*, the poet calling her *Tebes . . . la gen*. I still think that it is a peculiar proceeding to call the inhabitants of Thebes *la gen*, and I claim that the poet, if this had been his intention, would at least have said *sa gen* or added *i or en* to the verb (should one therefore read *co-n volc aucir Alixandris la gen?*). However this may be, the fact that the feminine of the adjective is usually *genta* (for this question see Stronski, *Le Troubadour Elias de Barjols* [Toulouse, 1906], p. 46) may save Cerveri from a false suspicion.

20. *volc aucir*. As Alexander, according to the legend, did destroy Thebes and kill the population, *volc aucir* has here the sense of the simple verb *aucir* (Levy, *Prov. Suppl. Wb.*, VIII, 822, No. 20 "tun wollen und tun").

23. The second part of this line lacks a syllable. Maybe in the original there was *leu* "quickly" before *l'escuzaria*, the scribe having skipped this word, because his eyes jumped from the *le-* of *leu* to the *le-* of *l'escuzaria*.

23-24. Here again the poet does not make it at all clear what person or persons he means with the two *l'*. If *Tebes* is really the name of the town, there is only one personal name in the whole stanza that those *l'* could be referred to, viz., *Alexandris*. The sense, however, does not allow us to take the king's name into consideration. So here again we have to recur to the explanation given above (see notes to line 12 and lines 17-18), according to which the first *l'* would be the hangman, the second the *juglar*.

25. *Daurels* is the heroic and unselfish jongleur of the Provençal *chanson de geste* "Daurel et Beton" (ed. Paul Meyer [Paris, 1880]), who sacrifices his own child in order to save Beton, the son of his liege lord, from being killed by the same treacherous villain who had already murdered Beton's father (see lines 995-1069 of the epic).

29. *alegre cortezia*. As a stylistic parallel to the coördinate nouns in line 30 (*tristor, ir' e feunia*), the poet probably meant to use a similar phrase in line 29, which would be *alegr'e cortezia*. But *alegre* is an adjective, the corresponding nouns being *alegria*, *alegrier*, *alegramen*, *alegransa*. All of them are too long to fit into the metre. Was there maybe in the original text one of those words of the same stem, shortened by one syllable through the apharesis of the initial *a*? The *Vida* of Guilhem de Balaun (ed. Boutière, *Ann. du Midi*, vol. 48, pp. 230 ff.) offers the adjective *legres* (lines 2 and 112) and the noun *legresa* (twice in line 25). In *Uc de San Circ*, Gr. 457, 8 (ed. Jeanroy-Salverda de Grave, p. 87), IV, 6, we find *legretat*. The noun *legor* (<\**licorem*), denoting "leisure" and "joy," though it has nothing to do with the stem *alegr-*, may have promoted forming words from the latter without the initial *a*. So *legres'e cortezia* would serve the purpose. To adopt this phrase, however, would mean a rather strong alteration of the text. On the other hand, keeping the reading of the MS *alegre cortezia*, with *alegre* as an adjective, is not without difficulty either, because the feminine form *alegre*, though phonetically right (<\**alécrem* for *álacrem*), is a little suspect. Appel, in the vocabulary of his *Prov. Chrest.*, marks *alegre* as belonging to the *bon-bona* type of adjective, but he does not give the adjective in its feminine form. The only instance of this form known to me occurs in "Flamenca" (ed. P. Meyer<sup>2</sup>), line 7506: *Car tos tems es sa car'alegra*. So, if *alegre cortezia* is morphologically

wrong, and the alteration of the text (*legres'e cortezia*) not admissible because of its being too strong, there are only two possibilities left: either we change *alegre* into *alegra*, which might seem justified, inasmuch as the MS reads *longe vida fi fina* (instead of *longa vid'e fi fina*) in Gr. 434a, 54, line 41, or we suppose that Cerveri took *alegre* for a noun and make the text say *alegr'e cortezia* "joy and courteousness."

33. *entenden* may also mean "intelligent." The following passage, however, also from Cerveri, would seem to corroborate our translation: *Vers, si vols laus aver dels entendenz, Al rey Peyre t'en vai primeramenz* (Gr. 434a, 44, VIII, 1). Cerveri thinks of kings composing verse (cf. line 40); see the social classification of troubadours given by Stimming in Gröber's *Grundriss*, II, 2, pp. 17-18. Among those poet-kings were Alphonso II and Peter III of Aragon, Alphonso X of Castile, and Richard Lionheart.

34. *a mans amans*. The same play on words is found in Giraut de Bornelh, Gr. 242, 71 (ed. Kolsen, No. 10), IV, 1-2:

Qui demand' a mans  
dels cobes amans  
s'an domna, desse  
diran: 'No, qu'ilh me!'

The sense of Cerveri's words seems to be as follows: Just as there are different kinds of lovers who all bear the same name, there are also people who write verse of different quality, and clergymen who are far from deserving this name. Here again we may quote a passage from Giraut de Bornelh (Gr. 242, 19 = Kolsen, No. 50, III, 7-8):

Pero 'trobar' e 'trobador'  
son mot de diversa color.<sup>87</sup>

39. *motz laçan*. This is another case of a gerund only loosely connected with the rest of the sentence (see note to line 9). The gerund is even perfectly absolute, there being no word to which the gerundial action could be referred.

39-40. I wonder how Massó Torrents understood these lines, which he offers in the following form (*Repertori de l'antiga literatura catalana: La Poesia*, I [Barcelona, 1932], p. 217):

Si mots laçan trobars es juglaria,  
·Eu el rey chan ne-m juglar d'una guisa.

To make line 40 intelligible, I have added *si* "if" to the phrase *eu el rey chan*, which otherwise would seem to have no connection whatsoever with the rest of the sentence. As to the paleographic admissibility of this procedure, I may refer to another poem of Cer-

<sup>87</sup> See my explanation in *Zum Text der Lieder des G. de B.*, pp. 71-72.

veri's in the same manuscript (Gr. 434, 7e = Ugolini, No. 92). It is a *planh* for Ramon de Cardona, the first *tornada* of which begins thus:

Eu qui l'a fait be viur'e be morir  
prec humilmen c'ab si-l deyn acuyllhir.

There can be not the least doubt that we have to read *Deu* instead of *Eu*. Our conjecture results in two conditional clauses belonging to the same sentence. These two conditional clauses are by no means coördinate or subordinate to each other; they join the principal clause, as it were, on different planes. This phenomenon is not infrequent in Provençal poetry and has been dealt with by Schultz-Gora, *Prov. Studien*, p. 86. As he speaks only of cases where the two conditional clauses enclose the principal clause, I am giving one that shows the same structure as ours, with the two conditional clauses preceding the principal clause: *Et es tant grans mos dreitz e la mia razos Que, s'ieu ai enemics ni mals ni orgulhos, Si degus m'es laupart, eu li seré leos*, Crois. Albig. (ed. Paul Meyer), lines 3809-10.

40. *eu el rey chan*. The regular form of the verb, with *eu* and *rey* as subjects, should be *chantam*. Such irregularities in the use of the person and number of the verb occur now and then, rare as they may be. Uc de San Circ, Gr. 457, 16 (ed. Jeanroy-Salverda de Grave, p. 20), I, 4, employs the same construction as Cerveri: *Moront miei huoill, et ieu el cors en mor*. It is open to question, though, whether *mor* is not meant to be the third person. The following two examples show a second-person pronoun as the second subject of the third person of the verb: *Lo pair' el filh el sant esperital Entre totz tres e vos, verges Maria, Nos gart, si'lh platz, del mal fusc ifernal*, Bern. de Venzac, Gr. 71, 1 (Mahn, *Werke*, 3, 288), I, 3; *Per quem tormenta ni m' pena Tant fort vostr'amors ni vos?*, Ramb. Buvalet (?), Gr. 281, 7 (ed. Bertoni, p. 53), V, 4. I find the following passage from Shakespeare quoted in C. T. Onions, *An Advanced English Syntax*<sup>88</sup> (London, 1929), p. 31: *Thou and I am one*.

## II

### Sirventes<sup>88</sup>

- I. Juglar, prec vos, ans que mortz vos aucia,  
vos confessetz e laxetz juglaria,
3. car pecatz far e mal pesar tot dia  
destruy home e met en mala via,  
e part ayço, faitz tan aunida via
6. c'anta prendetz e sufretz vilania.

<sup>88</sup> Ugolini, No. 86. Pillet-Carstens, 434a, 29. MS S<sup>g</sup>.

- II. Minten dizetz als rics lauzengaria,  
 minten prendetz, qu'esters hom no-us daria,  
 9. minten chantatz e comtatz ab falsia,  
 mintetz per gaug e mintetz ab feunia,  
 e no sabetz que ditz theologia:  
 12. Gardatz cals es, c'om del ver no-us creyria.
- III. Un bo cosseyl hom no-us apelaria  
 e can es duy, semblan .V. tota via,  
 15. e, per ma fe, faitz trop gran sobreyma  
 qu'entratz manjar ses cost[a] on que sia,  
 e par siatz repentit d'eretgia,  
 18. que sols manjatz ses tot[a] compaynia.
- IV. Ja d'un de vos hom no establiria  
 nul fort castel, si perdre no-l volia,  
 21. ne fariatz bona messatgeria,  
 ans seriatz de tot mal far espia;  
 que-l rey Ritxartz o provet can venia  
 24. del sepulcre paubres e l'ast tenia.
- V. Eu no-us dic mal, frayre, mas car volria  
 que laxassatz la falsa confrayria,  
 27. e lausesatz xantan Santa Maria;  
 que-l mon e nos deffen e guard'e guia,  
 c'ab lo seu chan cantar s'encantaria  
 30. tals qui sens leys leu nos dechantaria.
- VI. Na Sobrepreutz, volenters lauzaria  
 32. vos e-ls Cardos, si lauzar vos sabia.
- VII. Al nobl'Enfan d'Arago tenras via,  
 34. xans, [e] dir l'as c'us seus sers lay t'envia.

(16. cost — 18. tot — 30. tels — 33. t.ta uia — 34. xans dir los)

(Translation)

I. Jongleurs, I ask you, before Death will annihilate you, to confess and abandon minstrelsy; for always committing sins and thinking evil ruins a man and puts him on the wrong way. And, besides, you lead such a shameful life that you have to undergo humiliations and suffer indignities.

II. Lying you tell noble people flatteries, lying you accept (you rob?) because otherwise nobody would give you anything, lying you sing and you tell tales with falsehood, you lie for joy's sake and you lie with felony, and you do not know what (that?) theology says: Look what kind of people you are, for nobody will believe you even when you tell the truth.

III. Nobody would ask you for a good advice, and when there are two of you, they always seem to be five, and faith! you commit an act of arrogance entering for a gratuitous meal wherever it may be, and yet it seems that you are penitents for heresy because you eat alone without any company.

IV. Never would anybody man a strong castle with you unless he wanted to lose it, nor would you ever do good messenger-work. You would rather spy out how to do evil things; for King Richard experienced this when he came back from the Holy Sepulchre and was holding the spit.

V. I am blaming you, brethren, for no other reason than that I should like you to give up that false brotherhood and praise Saint Mary; for it is she that defends and watches and guides the world and all of us, and by



singing songs in her praise one could exorcise the one who, without her, would easily lead us astray.

VI. *Sobreprets*, I should like to praise you and the Thistles, if only I knew how to praise you (conveniently).

VII. You will take your way, song, to the noble Infante of Aragon and tell him that a servant of his sends you there.

#### Notes

4. *destruy home e met en mala via*. For this phenomenon (a qualifier, *home*, belonging to two coördinate parts of a sentence, *destruy* and *met*, put only with the first of them), see note to line 8 of Poem I.

9. *chantatz e comtatz*. Does the use of these two verbs indicate that Cerveri is aiming at lyric poetry (*chantatz*) and epic poetry, at least as far as the latter was not sung (*comtatz*)? And does the poet with the phrases *minten* and *ab falsia* mean to strike at the roots of all poetry, imagination and invention?

10. *mintetz*. The dissimilation of an unstressed *e* > *i* before a stressed *e* in the following syllable is a well-known phenomenon of Provençal phonetics (see Schultz-Gora, *Altprov. El. Buch*,<sup>35</sup> §49; Appel, *Prov. Lautlehre*, §61a; Appel, *Prov. Chrest.*, 6, p. xxb). Such a dissimilation has become quite common in participles such as *sirven* and *guiren*. It seems less frequent in *minten* and rare in the second person plural of the present tense, as *mintetz* (cf. *ligetz*, Appel, *Prov. Chrest.*, 7, p. 238). The regular form *mentetz* would have looked strange in the neighborhood of the three *minten*. It is remarkable, though, that we find *mintria* in Gr. 434a, 74, line 40 (ed. Kolsen, *Beiträge zur altprov. Lyrik*, No. 17), where there are no phonetical or analogical facts to influence the form of the verb. Kolsen, in his text, changes *mintria* into *mentria*. — *Per gaug*, i.e., for the purpose of entertaining an audience.

12. This line is, in my opinion, the explanation of the preceding one in that it contains what Cerveri calls the saying of theology. It is, however, no religious dictum; it is an idea repeatedly expressed by ancient authors: *Mendaci homini, ne verum quidem dicenti, credere solemus*, Cicero, *De Divinatione*, II, 71, 146; *Quicumque turpi fraude semel innotuit, Etiam si verum dicit, amittet fidem*, Phaedrus, *Fab.*, Book I, 10, 1.<sup>36</sup> Stobaeus, *Florileg.*, 12, 18, attributes it to Demetrius Phalerius (fourth century B. C.).<sup>40</sup>

13. *apelaria*. In the two examples which I know of for *apelar* denoting "to ask for" (Bertran de Born, Gr. 80, 34 = ed. Appel, No. 23, line 10, and "Jaufre," ed. Breuer, line 3090 = Appel, *Prov. Chrest.*, 6, 3, 74), the verb governs the preposition *de*. The same is true for Old French *apeler* (see Tobler-Lommatzsch, *Altfrz. Wörterbuch*, I,

<sup>35</sup> These two passages have been taken from Benham, *Book of Quotations* (London-Melbourne, 1936), pp. 622a, 681a.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Büchmann, *Geflügelte Worte*, 28th ed. (Berlin, 1937), p. 426.

436, 21-29). It is the construction normally to be expected from the original meaning "to call" of the verb: to call someone "with regard to" something. We could easily introduce the "right" construction by adding *D'* before *un bo cosseyl*. The parallel given in the note to lines 39-40 of Poem I, where the scribe put *Eu* instead of *Deu* in the beginning of a line, would seem to give us a right to do so. Tempting as this conjecture may be, there is no absolute necessity for it. The verb *apelar* is employed here in a sense usually connected with the synonymous verb *demandar*, whose construction (*demandar alcuna re a alcun*) may well have influenced that of the less frequent *apelar*. It is impossible to decide, unless more Provençal evidence comes to light, whether this analogical construction is due to a general tendency of Provençal usage, or the individual coinage of Cerveri the Catalan.

14. *can es duy, semblan .V.* As Cerveri addresses the jongleurs throughout the poem, the third person *semblan* (instead of the second *semblatz*) is surprising. Obviously the author confused two ideas: (1) Whenever you are two, you seem (to be) five; (2) Two of you always seem (to be) five. In other words, he did not take *vos* as the subject of the main clause, as he ought to have done, but rather *duy*. The sense of this reproach is not quite clear. Does Cerveri mean that two jongleurs always make such a noise that they seem to be five? Or does he want to point out that at whatever place people admit two of them there are quickly five? Peire de la Mula also complains of the great number of jongleurs (Gr. 352, 1, lines 7-8, ed. Bertoni, *Trovatori d'Italia*, p. 245):

E son ja tant pel mon cregut  
que mais son que lebrèt menut,

and (Gr. 352, 3, lines 7-8, ed. Bertoni, *loc. cit.*, p. 247):

E vei en [oi mais] tans  
per qu'es als pros dampnatges.

Maybe Cerveri had in mind another passage from the second of these poems (lines 3-5), when he wrote about the *duy*:

C'aquel arlot truan  
van cridan dui e dui:  
'Datz me, que joglars sui!'

15. *sobreyria*. No other example of this word is known. This fact alone would not permit us to deny its having existed. There are two other reasons to doubt that *sobreyria* is a genuinely Provençal word. *Sobreyria* is derived from the adjective *sobrier*. But the current noun connected with this stem is, according to the dictionaries, *sobriera* (*sobreira*). Abstract nouns of this formation are rather rare (see Adams, *Word-Formation in Provençal* [New York, 1913], pp. 232

ff.). On the other hand, the suffix that was generally used to derive nouns from adjectives (or nouns) in *-ier* (<*-arius*) was *-ia*. The phonetically correct form of this double suffix was *-aria* (not *-eiria*, as in our poem), which became independent and was added also to stems that had not produced an adjective in *-ier* (see Adams, *loc. cit.*, pp. 130 ff.). So, if Cerveri wanted to form a new derivative from *sobrier* it should have been *\*sobraria*, which, though it probably did not exist in Provençal, would at least have been the phonetically correct form of a potential word. *Sobreyria* is a hybrid form which seems to be derived from the noun *sobriera* (*sobreira*) with the suffix *-ia* substituted for the simple *-a*.

16. *qu'entratz manjar*. These words recall two lines (36-37) from a *tenso* between Augier Novella, a jongleur himself, and Bertran, Gr. 205, 1 (ed. J. Müller, *Zschr. f. rom. Phil.*, vol. 23, p. 76):

N'Augier, tost auretz trobat so que sercatz,  
qu'ab cascun intrats manjar descovidatz.

Also Bertran de Born, in his *sirventes joglaresc* addressed to a jongleur named Mailoli (Gr. 80, 24, ed. Appel, No. 41, lines 37-39), blames the jongleur's intrusiveness and gluttony:

Lai on sentetz raustir montos  
vos fatz de l'entrar plus cochos  
qu'al pal ni a la serralha.

These two vices are still more directly hit by Jausbert de Puycibot (Gr. 137, 4, ed. Shepard, No. IV, lines 19-21):

Qu'a tota gen iest empagz,  
cui enueja ta compaignia,  
qu'enfrus e glotz iest e lagz,

while a passage from Giraut de Bornelh (Gr. 242, 27, ed. Kolsen, No. 75, lines 32-33) deals with the jongleur's gluttony only:

E car voletz tan bos conres  
e car es glotz e lechadors.

17. *repentit d'eretgia*. The poet sees the jongleurs sitting quite by themselves, nobody wanting the company of those detested people. They seem to be heretics whose company is "undesirable" for every good Christian. This is what I think to be the general idea of the passage. But what does *repentit* mean exactly? Grammatically speaking, it is one of those past participles of a reflexive verb that have an active sense and even may almost adopt the nature of an adjective without any notion of time (cf. Tobler, *Verm. Beitr.*, I, beginning of No. 23). As to its sense, the usual meaning of *sé repentir*, i.e., "to repent," would not seem strong enough. It must rather be "to expiate." Levy, *Prov. Suppl. Wb.*, VII, 243, it is true, declares categorically that this meaning of *sé repentir* has to be canceled, and indeed,

the only evidence that Raynouard offers for it (*Lex. Rom.*, IV, 490) is anything but convincing. But the simple verb *penedir*, *pentir*, could denote "to expiate," at least when it was used as a transitive verb.<sup>41</sup> Why should not the compound word have the same meaning? The notions of repenting and expiating are closely enough related, and the context all but requires the second of these definitions for our passage. So a *repentit* is, I think, a person who expiates a sin, a penitent.<sup>42</sup>

19. *establiar*. See Levy, *Prov. Suppl. Wb.*, III, 291, *establiar* No. 4, "Zur Verteidigung einrichten, mit Truppen besetzen," and the examples given on page 292 in which the verb, as in our case, governs the preposition *de*. —The so-called *sirventes joglaresc* repeatedly ridicule the jongleur because of his cowardice:

III. Qui-us apelava paoruc,  
semblaria que vers no fos;  
quar etz grans e joves e tos,  
fatz semblan qu'aiatz coralha!  
Mas lai on lebres es leos,  
vos etz volpilhs e nualhos,  
flacs, ses tota defensalha.

V. Mal vos tenon per acertuc  
d'armas en la ost dels basclos,  
que un non a dels garzos  
que denan vos non assalha.  
Si-s defendian ab melos,  
chascus entreri anz que vos,  
s'aviatz elm e ventalha.  
(Bertran de Born, Gr. 80, 24 [ed. Appel, No. 41])

No sai, mas eras ai apres  
cals se fo ja vostre mesters:  
auch dir que fotz arbalesters,  
c'anc no-us plagron colp de manes.<sup>43</sup>  
Mas pero si fotz empreses,  
ja fossetz lonh entre ls derrers.

(Gir. de Born., Gr. 242, 27 [ed. Kolsen, No. 75], st. II)

<sup>41</sup> For this meaning Raynouard (*Lex. Rom.*, IV, 489) gives two examples. The one from the *Vida de San Honorat* is absolutely convincing, the other, from Gausb. de Puegcibot, has been approved by Shepard in his edition of that troubadour's poems. In his *Prov. Suppl. Wb.*, Levy does not oppose Raynouard's interpretation of those two passages, and it is amazing (and not justified in my opinion) that he should have provided the definition "expiar" with a question mark in his *Pet. Dict.*

<sup>42</sup> It is not without interest to see that the past participle of the simple verb *pentir* (i.e., *sé pentir de* "to desist from") also occurs in the active sense mentioned above. At least Levy, *Prov. Suppl. Wb.*, VI, 211, gives good reasons for interpreting in this way a passage from Giraut de Bornelh's *Crusade Song*, Gr. 242, 6 (ed. Kolsen, No. 60), line 53: *E (Dieus) volra comte dels pentitz, Cels qu'era no l'aiudaran* ("God will call to account the unwilling, those who do not help him now").

<sup>43</sup> Translation: "because blows from near never pleased you." Kolsen: *plaguen colp demanes*; translation: "ohne daß eure Schüsse wohl je von vorn herein verwundeten," which does not make much sense.

21. *messatgeria*, instead of *messatjaria*. Here again the suffix shows a form not in accord with Provençal phonetics (see note to line 15).—To hear jongleurs reproached with being harbingers of evil is amazing, because many troubadour poems have been entrusted to them for delivery to the poets' ladies or protectors.

23-24. *quel rey Ritxartz*. . . . Speaking of Richard Lionheart's relations with jongleurs, one is immediately reminded of the story told in *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims* according to which Richard's faithful jongleur, by means of a song known only to the king and himself, discovered the place where Richard was kept prisoner by the German emperor, thus helping to liberate his beloved sovereign. In Poem I Cerveri does not avail himself of this touching story for the purpose of illustrating the good will of jongleurs. Instead, in Poem II, he chooses the story, legendary also, of how Richard was taken prisoner. We know the story from three sources: (1) *Livre d'Eracles*,<sup>44</sup> (2) *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*,<sup>45</sup> (3) The Middle English romance of *Richard Coer de Lion*<sup>46</sup> (which is held to be the English version of a lost Anglo-Norman original). The reports of the two Old French works are essentially identical. Richard, after landing in Europe, travels through Austria. In the *Livre d'Eracles* he is accompanied by Templars and wishes to be taken for one himself. A spy, who has followed him all the way from Palestine, betrays him to the Duke of Austria. The *Récits* do not say anything of the Templars, only mentioning Richard's retinue twice,<sup>47</sup> nor do they explain from where the spy came. The Duke's knights then try to get hold of the king in the inn where he is staying. Richard puts on old clothes and, entering the kitchen, begins to turn capons at the fire. There he is discovered and, despite his disguise, is recognized by the spy.

These versions contain two of the elements of Cerveri's remark, i.e., the spy and Richard holding the spit. They do not say anything about the king's "poverty" or about the spy's being a jongleur. These facts are found in the Middle English romance. While the two Old French tales put Richard's capture, unhistorical as it may be,<sup>48</sup> in its right chronological order, i.e., after Richard's crusade, the English poet, on an equally unhistorical basis, has Richard make a pil-

<sup>44</sup> Ed. G. Paris in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, II (Paris, 1859); cf. Book XXVI, ch. XVIII (pp. 200 ff.).

<sup>45</sup> Ed. Nathalis de Wailly in *Librairie de la Société de l'Histoire de France*, No. 179 (Paris, 1876); cf. §65.

<sup>46</sup> Ed. Karl Brunner, *Der mittellenglische Versroman über Richard Löwenherz* (Wien, 1913) (= *Wiener Beiträge zur englischen Philologie*, No. 42); cf. lines 651 ff.

<sup>47</sup> *Et s'en ala par terre à privée mesnie. . . . Et fu pris li rois et envoiez en un fort chastel, et toute sa mesnie en un autre.*

<sup>48</sup> The author of the *Livre d'Eracles*, speaking of Richard roasting the capons, honestly admits: *Mais je ne le di mie por voir, mais ensi come aucunes genz le dient.*

grimace to the Holy Land previous to his crusade, and even has him visit Jerusalem (line 639). Richard is accompanied by only two of his nobles, Foulke Doyly and Thomas of Multoun, all three of them wearing pilgrim's garb. This situation agrees much better with Cerveri's description of the king as being "poor" than it does with that of a Templar accompanied by other Templars, or with that of a man surrounded by a retinue, as the French versions present him, in which his poor attire serves only as a disguise. The three pilgrims travel through the country of a German king named Modard. In a tavern they are just preparing a goose for dinner (lines 659 ff.):

Kyng Richard þe ffyr bet,  
And Thomas to þe spyte hym set,  
Ffouk Doyly tempryd þe woos,

when an English minstrel enters, asking them whether they would like to have some "minstrelsy." Richard bids him go, and the offended minstrel, who happens to know the king and his companions, betrays them to the king of Germany. Here we have the jongleur who is missing in the French versions, but he is not really a spy. On the other hand, it is not Richard who "holds the spit," but Thomas, while the king "beats" the fire.

A comparison of the three versions with Cerveri's poem gives this result. Three of the elements of Cerveri's remark concerning Richard, i.e., the presence of a minstrel, the king's "poverty," and his visit to the Holy Sepulchre, agree with the English version; two others, i.e., the spy and the spit, agree with the French versions. It is absurd to think that the Catalan troubadour might have known the English version, even in its first form, which is supposed to go back to Cerveri's lifetime.<sup>49</sup> It is easier to believe that he knew the lost Anglo-Norman poem, an adaptation of which the English romance is held to be. On the other hand, G. Paris, who devotes to this question a long article ("Le Roman de Richard," *Rom.*, vol. 26, pp. 353-93), claims that the beginning of the English poem with all its unhistorical occurrences, Richard's pilgrimage and capture included, is an invention of one of the English adapters (*loc. cit.*, p. 356, note 3, and p. 371). If we compare these contradictory statements, one of two conclusions would seem compulsory: either the French original already contained the capture scene as it is described in the English romance, or Cerveri had a source other than the lost *Roman de Richard*. That source, however, could not have been either the *Livre d'Eracles* or the *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims* because of the strongly marked

<sup>49</sup> Jentsch, *Die mittenglische Romanze Richard Coer de Lion und ihre Quellen* (*Englische Studien*, vol. 15, pp. 161-247), places the first translation of the Anglo-Norman poem into English in the reign of Edward II (1272-1307). Gaston Paris (*loc. cit.*, p. 386) supposes the Anglo-Norman poem, the source of the romance, to have been composed *une trentaine d'années après les événements*.

differences between these two works and the facts alluded to by Cerveri. Which other sources then could the Catalan troubadour have had? G. Paris (*loc. cit.*, pp. 386-87) holds that the Anglo-Norman poet "a recueilli des récits qui circulaient autour de lui et qui provenaient en grande partie, sans doute, des compagnons mêmes de Richard." Maybe one of those circulating anecdotes contained all the elements given by Cerveri. The circulation in England of such anecdotes is anything but incredible. But are we to suppose that the same was true of Catalonia, where the interest in the doings of an English king would be naturally less keen and hardly active more than half a century after his death?<sup>50</sup> There is still another possibility. Peter of Langtoft, in his chronicle written in Anglo-Norman verse (beginning of the fourteenth century), claims to know a second romance, with Richard as its hero, which is different from the one assumed to be the source of the Middle English *Richard Coer de Lion* (G. Paris, *loc. cit.*, p. 388). Robert Mannyng, too, who translated Peter's chronicle into English (1388), seems to have known that second romance (*loc. cit.*, p. 392). Knowledge of it, therefore, may have been rather widespread, and it is not impossible that Cerveri, too, knew it. All this, of course, must remain mere guesswork until the two French romances come to light. One thing, however, would seem to be sure, i.e., that this time Cerveri cannot be reproached with having only a vague idea of, or with having altered, the facts given in his sources (see note to line 19 of Poem I), because all the items of which his allusion to Richard's capture is composed are found in one or the other of the extant versions of Richard's legendary history.

25. *frayre*. In a poem (Gr. 434a, 2) entitled *Pistola* by the MS and addressed to his friends in southern France<sup>51</sup> whom he has not seen for five years, Cerveri says (beginning of stanza II):

Frayres, s'avetz pesança  
ne turmen peryllo(r)s . . . ,  
aiatz el cor membrança  
que Deus sofri pesars . . . .

There can be no doubt that here Cerveri calls his friends brothers. It is less certain that in our poem the word *frayre* means the same thing and that Cerveri could be supposed to consider himself as being on the same level as the jongleurs whose conduct he condemns. In my opinion, *frayre* anticipates the word *confrayria* of the following line. What the poet wants to say is that, just as monks form a religious brotherhood, so jongleurs form a worldly, an impious one which he advises its members (*frayre*) to give up.

<sup>50</sup> Conditions are different, of course, for literary works.

<sup>51</sup> . . . als francs juglars E doctors de Provença (see note 8).



26-27. *laxassatz, lauzesatz*. The regular forms would be *laxessetz, lauzessetz*. In the forms of the imperfect subjunctive, an *a* instead of *e* occurs occasionally, *-assetz* representing an original Lat. *-assetis* instead of an analogical *-essetis*, which has become the standard form (see Schultz-Gora, *Prov. El. Buch*,<sup>5</sup> §131). Cerveri, too, avails himself of these *-a*-forms: *parlassetz*, Gr. 434a, 13, III, 4; *portasson e cridesson* (both forms linked together by *e*), Gr. 434a, 36, IV, 2; *mesclassetz*, Gr. 434a, 33, IV, 1. Starting from such a form *lauzasetz* instead of *lauzesetz*, our word *lauzesatz* looks as if a metathesis of *e* and *a* had taken place (*lauzasetz* > *lauzesatz*). Appel, *Prov. Chrest.*, 6, p. xxiv, offers some parallels: *aguessas, trobesa, laissesam, lunhessan, anessan, le vessan, metesan, aguessan*. Cerveri's poem, Gr. 434a, 33, which has *mesclassetz* in IV, 1 (see above), offers *mesclesatz* in VI, 1, which is not in Kolsen's edition (*Beiträge zur altprov. Lyrik*, No. 14); he puts *mesclesetz* in his text, with the reading of the MS in the *varia lectio*. For *laxassatz*, with both the *e*'s of the ending changed into *a*, I could not give any other evidence. If this form is not merely due to a lapsus of the scribe, it may represent a further development of *laxesatz*, irregular itself, in that the *e* was assimilated to the two *a*'s, or maybe only to the *a* of the ending.

29. *chan*, denoting here "hymn, song of praise" (see line 27). —*s'encantaria*, reflexive construction with the value of the passive voice. As to the meaning "to exorcise" which I chose to give the verb *encantar*, I can only refer to Tobler-Lommatzsch, *Altfrz. Wb.*, III, 185, 6, where the definition "bannen" is listed, though none of the examples seems exactly to correspond to that meaning.

30. *dechantaria*. Reflexive *decantar* is listed by Levy, *Prov. Suppl. Wb.*, II, 24, as "sich neigen, abweichen," Old French *soi deschanter* by Tobler-Lommatzsch, *loc. cit.*, II, 1495, 1-4, as "abweichen, abirren." The only example the latter gives has a certain similarity with our passage: *De cels cui li diable tentent Et qui por euls ne se deschantent*, with this difference, however, that here the verb is reflexive, in our text non-reflexive, transitive. If *soi deschanter* denoted "to allow oneself to be led astray," the simple *deschanter* (Provençal *decantar*) may well have had the meaning of "to lead astray." The reflexive use of *se deschantent* is again not unlikely to be an expression for the passive voice, so that we may consider *deschanter* (*decantar*) as originally transitive. The idea expressed in lines 29-30 is met with again in stanza V of Gr. 434a, 77:

Tu qui partz fezist tres del teu nom sol,  
tu qui partz mals e bes, e fezist sol,  
ta mayre, qui nos destorba,  
can l'enemic fals nos torba,  
vuylla que ns do ab tu pauza.

"Thou who madest three parts of thy single name, Thou who distinguishest evil and good deeds, and madest the sun, Thy mother who

disentangles us When the false fiend entangles us, may deign to give us rest at Thy side."—*tals qui* . . . i.e., the devil. For such paraphrases of the devil see Kolsen, in his edition of Giraut de Bornelh, II, p. 76 (note to 37, 24). Cerveri, though, does not always avoid pronouncing the devil's name (cf. Gr. 434a, 43, III, 6, and Gr. 434a, 45, V, 1).

33. *tenras via*. The MS has *tenras ta via*, which gives the line one syllable too many. A correction to *ten ta via* would also have been possible. There are two reasons for preferring *tenras via*. Both *tener via* and *tener sa via* denote "to travel." The latter phrase seems to have been the more frequently used, so the possessive pronoun is likely to have been added by an inadvertent scribe. On the other hand, keeping *tenras* is recommended by the fact that the following line contains a second command likewise expressed by the future tense.

34. *xans*, [e] *dir l'as*. The MS reads: *xans dir los*. Here three instead of four syllables are required for the first part of the verse. It is obvious that the missing syllable has to be supplied by *e*, otherwise there would be no connection with what precedes. As to the two words *dir los*, they do not make sense, since there is no verb in the neighborhood on which the infinitive *dir* could depend nor a noun to which the pronoun *los* could be referred. The necessity for changing *los* into *l'as* is evident. This *l'as* added to *dir* constitutes the well-known form of the future tense where a personal pronoun is inserted between the two elements of that tense, the infinitive and the present tense of *habere*.

New York City

"—AND THAT DIFFICULT WORD, *GARSECG*"  
(GUMMERE)

By R. L. M. DEROLEZ

*Garsecg* may in truth claim to be one of the most mysterious words of the Old English vocabulary. For more than a century it has forced itself upon the attention of philologists; there is in fact something tantalizing about this word. "The meaning of the word as it stands is clear enough," Sweet wrote in 1879.<sup>1</sup> Yet not one of the explanations proffered thus far has met with general approval. We do not intend to add here a new solution to the long series of those existing already. But a new survey of data and views connected with this problem may lead to a better understanding and perhaps, sooner or later, to a definite solution. It will be best first to consider the material at our disposal.

*Garsecg* is very well attested in OE literature. It occurs in the following poetical works: *Beowulf*, *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Phænix*, *Metra*, *Psalms*, *Whale*, *Riddles*, *Runic Poem*, *Order of the World* (= *Wonders of Creation*).<sup>2</sup> Its use implies no particular difficulties. It often denotes the ocean which, in the opinion of both classical and Germanic antiquity (*Míðgarðsormr*, the ON world-serpent, rests on its bottom!), encloses the inhabited world.

garsecg embegyrð    gumena rice (*Metra* IX, 41).

Over this ocean the sun rises in the morning:

Dægwoma becwom / ofer garsecge (*Exod.* 344-45)

to sink into it again in the evening:

oþþæt on æfenne    ut garsecges  
grundas pæpeð (*Order* 70-74).

As such *garsecg* figures the limit between the world of the living and the realm of death. In this way we understand what the *Beowulf*-poet means by:

leton holm beran, / geafon on garsecg (*Beow.* 48-49).

Scyld's retainers give up their dead lord to the ocean that it may carry him in his richly adorned boat to the world of the dead. This ocean in fact no longer belongs to "middangeard." Islands which are situated in it are considered to "lie out (of the world)":

ealandra mænig    ut on garsæcge (*Ps.* XCVI, 4)

an iglond ligð    ut on garsecg (*Metra* XVI, 12).

<sup>1</sup> "Old English Etymologies II. *Garsecg*," in *Englische Studien*, II (1879), 314-15.

<sup>2</sup> Quotations are from: F. Klaeber, *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, 3rd ed. (Boston, 1936); G. P. Krapp et al., *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, 5 vols. (London and New York, 1931- ).

It is the abode of the dangerous whale (garsecges gæst, *Whale* 29):

se micla hwæl,  
se ðe garsecges grund bihealdeð  
sweartan syne (*Riddle* XL, 92-94).

In this roaring, terrifying sea (Garsecg hlymmeð, *Andreas* 392)  
Beowulf and Breca held their swimming contest:

þæt wit on garsecg ut / aldrum neðdon (*Beow.* 537-38).

In glossaries *garsecg* translates Lat. *oceanus*, e.g., *oceanō*, on *garsecge* (WW I, 462, 39). This is also the case in OE prose texts. Its occurrence ranges from Alfred down to the end of the OE period. Alfred made frequent use of this word in his translations from Latin authors, especially in his *Orosius*:

Æfter þæm he [Alexander] for ut on garsecg: per hunc in Oceanum devehitur (ed. Sweet, E.E.T.S., o.s., vol. 75, p. 134, 1).

We still find it in such late works as the *Letter of Alexander to Aristoteles* and the *Wonders of the East*:

Be þæm garsecge [is] wildeora cyn: secus oceanum sunt genera bestiarum (ed. Stanley Rypins, E.E.T.S., o.s., vol. 161, p. 106, 4)

as well as in one of Wulfstan's *Homilies*:

. . . ofer þone garsecg, se ðe mid his ormætynsse ealle ðas eorðan utam emblið (ed. Napier, p. 146, 23).

It may be worth mentioning that *garsecg* is never found as first element in compounds, only as second:

[Africa 7 Asia hiera landgemircu] . . . 7 ligeð þæt londgemære suþ þonan ofer Nilus þa ea, 7 swa ofer Ethiopica westenne oþ þone Suþgarsecg: Unde missa (in transversum) per Aethiopica deserta meridianum contingit oceanum (*Orosius* 8, 30).

Æfter þæm he [Alexander] for on Indie, to þon þæt he his rice gebrædde oþ þone eastgarsecg: post hæc Indiam petit, ut Oceano (ultimoque) Oriente (finiret) imperium (*Orosius* 132, 5).

It is inflected as a masculine *ja*-stem. The variety of its spellings in OE MSS is mainly due to the difficulty of rendering geminated *g* (-*gg*-). With the Conquest this remarkable word disappears altogether.

As it stands *garsecg* is plainly a compound, both parts of which are attested as single words in OE.

(1) *Gar*. The first element of *garsecg* offers no difficulties. OE *gār* "spear" usually denotes the heavy weapon used both for throwing and thrusting; yet it is also used to signify a lighter javelin, which was only thrown.<sup>3</sup> It is a term common to all Germanic lan-

<sup>3</sup>M. L. Keller, *Anglo-Saxon Weapon Names*, Angl. Forsch. 15 (Heidelberg, 1906), pp. 137-44.

guages.<sup>4</sup> We find it as ON *geirr*, the spear with triangular blade; in that language the word seems to have been obsolescent and mainly poetical. OS and OHG *gēr* occur, especially in proper names. From the compounds which contain *gār* we do not gather much more information. Some plants are designated by compounds with *gār* on account of their sharp, spear-shaped leaves: OE *gārlēac* "garlic" = ON *geirlaukr*; OE *gārclife* "agrimony." Of Gmc *\*gaiza-*, which lies at the basis of *gār*, there exists a derivative *\*gaizan-*, OHG *gēro*, OE *gāra*, ON *geiri*, denoting objects in the shape of a spearhead, such as a triangular field, a triangular piece of cloth.<sup>5</sup>

(2) *Secg*. The second part of our compound on the contrary is not unequivocal. OE dictionaries record no fewer than four homonyms *secg*. Moreover, a tribal name *Secgan* and two personal names, *Antsecg* and *Gesecg*, have been preserved.

(a) *Secg* "man, warrior, attendant" is well represented in OE literature, and it occurs in most poems. Like its ON cognate *seggr* it is confined to the language of poetry. Yet it was able to maintain itself till far into the sixteenth century, though only as a term of abuse.<sup>6</sup> It has been satisfactorily connected with Lat. *socius* (*\*sok²yo-*, Gmc *\*sagja-*). From the few compounds we glean from OE texts no extra information can be derived: *ambyhtsecg* has an *ambyhtmon* by its side, *selesecg* a *seleþegn*, *ærendsecg* an *ærendraca* and an *ærendureca*. But the word as we have it is clear.

(b) *Secg* "sedge," translating Lat. *carex*, *gladiolum*, *lisca*, occurs mainly in glossaries. This fact explains the considerable variety of forms we meet with: *secg*, *segc*, *saecg*, *segg*, *secc*, *seic*. The gender is only to be inferred from a few instances in the *Leechdoms*. It is usually masculine, but there is one example of neuter use. Apart from English, the word still exists in Dutch and German, especially in dialects. The assertion of the *OED*<sup>7</sup> that no corresponding word is known in the Scandinavian languages seems inexact. Feilberg records a word *seg* "ett halvgræss."<sup>8</sup> It cannot be decided whether the compound *secglēac* contains this *secg* or *segc* "sword," although the former looks more probable. OE *eolhsecg* is a puzzling compound. As we shall have to return to this word later on, we can leave further discussion of it till then.

(c) *Secg* "sword" is but scantily attested. It occurs in only four instances, twice as a single word and twice in a compound. It is used only in poetry. All we know about gender and inflection we have to infer from this passage in *Beowulf* (683-84):

ac wit on niht sculon / secge ofersittan

<sup>4</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. *gare*<sup>1</sup>; also *goad*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, s.v. *gore*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, s.v. *segge*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, s.v. *sedg*.

<sup>8</sup> H. F. Feilberg, *Bidrag til en Ordbog over Jyske Almuesmål* (Kjøbenhavn, 1904-11), III, 175.

As *ofersittan* "to abstain from, forego (the use of)" is construed with the accusative, *secge* can only be the accusative of a feminine *jð*-stem. It is probably derived from the same root as *secg* "sedge" (Gmc \**sagja* : \**sagjð*-). ON *ben-søgr* "name of a sword," which is sometimes connected with it, must be explained in another way.<sup>9</sup>

(d) *Secg* "sea." Here we reach a sphere of uncertainty. The three instances of this word occur in glossaries, which are dependent on each other, or at least proceed from a common source. The *Epinal* and *Erfurt Glossaries* have respectively *segg* and *seeg* (or *secg*?); *Corpus Glossary*, which explains the lemma *salum* by *vel mare*, gives a form *saecg*. Gender and stem-form remain completely in the dark. Immediate etymological cognates seem to fail altogether. Cf., however, Holthausen, *infra*.

(e)-(f) *Secgan*; *Gesecg*, *Antsecg*. The name of the tribe has been preserved twice in *Widsith*:

Sæferð [i.e., weold] Sycgum, Sweom Ongendþeow (31)  
Mid Seaxum ic wæs ond Sycgum ond mid Sweordwerum (62)

and once in the *Finnsburg Fragment*:

Sigeferþ is min nama (cweþ he), ic eom Secgena leod (24).

The *y* of *Sycgum* can be explained as a hyper-Kenticism. The exact value of the name is not clear. A discussion of various explanations was given by Chambers in his edition of *Widsith*.<sup>10</sup> According to some authors *Secgan* would mean "swordsmen." *Sweordwerum* "swordsmen" actually follows in the same line, and one might also compare with *Saxones* "sahs (=knife)-men." Möller situates the *Secgan* between the Elbe and the Eider. The later inhabitants of Essex would be their descendants. Müllenhoff identified them with the *Reudigni* (Tacitus, *Germania*, ch. 40). Their king, *Sæferð* or *Sigeferþ*, is a mysterious personality. Much will remain hypothetical in these matters; but a careful investigation of the names might still afford some clues. In the genealogy of the East Saxon royal house we find for the first three generations: *Swæppa Antsecging*, *Antsecg Gesecging*, *Gesecg Seaxneating* "Swæppa the son of Antsecg, Antsecg the son of Gesecg, Gesecg the son of Seaxneat" (Sweet, *Old-est English Texts*, p. 179). Numerous problems are raised by these names. Does their presence in the East Saxon royal pedigree justify the connection between the *Secgan* and the inhabitants of Essex? Is the arrangement in generations historical, or merely mythological, or is it a result of other considerations?<sup>11</sup> If *Gesecg* and *Ant-*

<sup>9</sup> H. Falk, *Altnordische Waffenkunde* (Kristiania, 1914), p. 47.

<sup>10</sup> *Widsith: A Study in Old English Heroic Legend* (Cambridge, Mass., 1912), p. 199.

<sup>11</sup> H. de Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1935-37), I, 238, 246.

secg were brothers, it would perhaps not be too bold to compare them with the twins of the Vandal foundation myth, 'Pāos and 'Pāptos, "Reed" and "Rafters,"<sup>12</sup> whose names indeed show some similarity. Meanwhile it is not clear what Müllenhoff meant by translating the names of those East Saxon kings by Symmachos and Antimachos.<sup>13</sup>

One might well ask whether there are in fact so many homonyms. As was mentioned above, *secg*="sedge" and *secg*="sword" may belong to the same root.<sup>14</sup> The same may be the case for *Secgan* and perhaps for *Gesecg* and *Antsecg*. Zachrisson, however, relates the tribal name to *secg*="man."<sup>15</sup> Cf. moreover Schütte's suggestion, *infra*.

For the sake of completeness we have to mention here another attempt to analyze *garsecg*. Dahlmann divided it *gars* + *ecg*. *Gar*-would be identical with the first element in German *Garten*, etc., the whole compound meaning "Erdrund, Erdumringer, -umgürter."<sup>16</sup> But a word *gar* with this sense is recorded nowhere in the Gmc languages, and *ecg* "edge" is a feminine *jō*-stem, not a masculine *ja*-stem. This will be sufficient to explain why Grimm early rejected Dahlmann's proposal. Sarrazin tried a similar way: he cuts the compound into *gar* + *secg*, taking the first element as a corruption of ON *garð*-, the second being *secg* "sea." He seems to forget that there is an OE *geard* corresponding to ON *garðr*.<sup>17</sup>

After all there remain three starting points for the explanation of *garsecg*: "spear-man," "spear-sedge," "spear-sea." Even so, these three have not been thought sufficient to solve the problem.

Sweet<sup>18</sup> believed that none of the above senses could explain *garsecg*. It looks as if it meant "spear-man," but this is only the result of popular etymology. The original form has been preserved in the runic inscription on the front of the *Franks Casket*:

warþ gasric grorn, þær he on greut giswom.

The identity of OE *gasric* and *garsecg* had already been suggested by Sievers, who thought the former simply a mistake for the latter. Sweet, however, inverts the situation: *gasric* was modified to *garsecg*. He explains *gasric* as a compound, consisting of OE \**gās*-<Gmc \**gais*-, which we also meet in ON *geisa* "to chafe, rage," and the well-known suffix *-ric*. *Garsecg* would then mean "the rager." Sweet

<sup>12</sup> K. Helm, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* (Heidelberg, 1913- ), I, 326.

<sup>13</sup> *Deutsche Altertumskunde* (Berlin, 1890-1920), IV, 528.

<sup>14</sup> *OED*, s.v. *saw*; also *sedge*.

<sup>15</sup> Mentioned by G. Schütte; cf. note 24.

<sup>16</sup> *Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Geschichte* (Altona, 1822), p. 414.

<sup>17</sup> "Der Schauplatz des ersten Beowulfliedes und die Heimat des Dichters," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, XI (1886), 175.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. note 1.



admits that there remains some difficulty as to the sense of *grorn*. It usually means "mournful," but he is forced to translate it by "turbid," "a sense for which there is otherwise no authority." Even if his interpretation of *gasric* were right, the context seems to prove that in this instance the whale is meant, and not the sea. The name of the Vandal king Gaisaricus, added by Sweet as an argument, evidently contains \**gaiza*- "spear."

Redbond<sup>19</sup> starts from the same fundamental idea. He rejects Sweet's explanation as "the least plausible from a phonological point of view." The prototype for *garsecg* was a Celtic word which still exists in Welsh *mor-gaseg* "sea-breaker," literally "sea-mare." The common form of the word is *caseg*, that with initial *g*- being due to mutation. The phonological resemblance with *garsecg* is indeed striking. The Anglo-Saxons must have borrowed the word from a compound such as *mor-gaseg*. Even the imagery must have facilitated the borrowing: kennings of the type *sæ-mearh* are familiar to OE poetry. The first element of *mor-gaseg* must have been dropped soon after the borrowing "because of its familiarity or its confusing association with OE *mor* 'moor.'" These arguments are not conclusive enough to explain the omission of the first element. Familiarity would rather have helped to retain it, and "confusion association" is precisely a characteristic of popular etymology. The OE compounds to which Redbond points have a sense so different from that of the Celtic word—they mean "ship"—that they would have prevented the borrowing rather than have made it easier. Moreover, probability is against this solution. Would a people so intimately acquainted with the sea as the Anglo-Saxons have been obliged to borrow a word for "ocean" from the people they had subdued?

We may safely conclude that the solutions based upon popular etymology prove rather weak, and should be resorted to only when all other ways have been tried without success.

The solution nearest at hand would be to identify the second element of *garsecg* with *secg*="man." Yet there is an obstacle in the way: *gar*. If it means "spear," we have to search for some similar Old Gmc conception. This is exactly the difficulty: no direct connection between the ideas "spear" and "sea" can be discovered. One might perhaps point to the ON mythic river *Geirvimul* "bristling with spears" (*Grímnismál* 27; Snorri, *Prose Edda*, "Gylfaginning" ch. 38). It may be related to that other stream, *Slíðr*, which is full of knives and swords (*Völuspá* 36, *Grímnismál* 28). Both rivers have something to do with the world of the dead. But there is a strong suspicion that the notion of a stream full of spears or swords into which malefactors are thrust was borrowed from medieval Christian vision literature.<sup>20</sup> Or one might think of the giant

<sup>19</sup> "Notes on the Word 'Gar-secg,'" *Modern Language Review*, XXVII (1932), 204-06.

<sup>20</sup> De Vries, *op. cit.*, II, 400.

Geirrǫðr, whose daughter Gjálp causes the river Vimur to flow so fiercely that Thor is put to considerable trouble to escape. This story too is not very clear, and it will be safer not to recur to it until we know more about its sense and structure.<sup>21</sup>

Holthausen<sup>22</sup> tried another way. To explain the element *gār-*, he combines it with Lat. *hiāre*, OE *gānian*, *gīnan* "to yawn, gape," Skt *viḥāyas* "atmosphere." He also proposes an etymology for *secg*: OSlav. *oseka* "ebb," *seknąti* "to flow," Lith. *sakaĩ* "resin," *senkù*, "I sink," Alb. *gjak* "blood," Icel. *saggi* "moisture," Dan. *sagle*, Swed. *sakla* "to ooze." *Garsecg* would mean "the open sea." This etymology of *secg* is interesting, but that of *gar* must remain hypothetical, as the ablaut-form IE *\*ghoi-r-*, Gmc *\*gai-r-* is attested nowhere else.

The most recent suggestion (to my knowledge), that given by the late G. van Langenhove,<sup>23</sup> explains *gar* in a still different manner. An attempt to elucidate the order of the runes in the *fupark* induced the author to pay attention to the names of the runes. Unfortunately he was not given the opportunity to expound and amplify the views he had only briefly outlined. As a consequence his reasoning is difficult to follow. The name of the fifteenth rune according to the OE Runic Poem was *eolhsecg*. In glossaries we meet a form *ilugsegg*, translating an unintelligible Lat. *papilius*. Van Langenhove starts from this *eolhsecg*, which would not mean "sedge, reed," as is usually stated, but "rock, cliff"; cf. *eolhsand* "amber." He probably thought here of the parallel Gmc *\*sahs-* "knife": Lat. *saxum* "rock." *Gar-* in *garsecg* would allude to the same rocks, *secg* would here be "sea," and the whole compound would mean "sea full of skerries." All this sounds rather complicated and hypothetical; still it is to the author's credit that he has made us aware of this fact. Any further attempt to explain *garsecg* will have to reckon with the rune-name *eolhsecg* and related words such as *eolhsand*.

G. Schütte<sup>24</sup> suggests the derivation of *Secgan* from *secg* "sea," "appearing in the well-known compound *garsecg*." He adds no further elaborations or arguments. This hint too ought to be borne in mind.

The equation *garsecg* = "spear-sedge" was advocated by J. Grimm on various occasions.<sup>25</sup> *Gar-* would then have the same sense as in

<sup>21</sup> H. de Vries, *The Problem of Loki*, FF Communications No. 110, pp. 56-65.

<sup>22</sup> "Etymologien II. 87. Ae. *Gār-sēc* . . ." in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, XXV (1909), 153-54. The same opinion is held by F. Specht, *Der Ursprung der indogermanischen Deklination* (Göttingen, 1944), p. 20, who considers *\*ga-r-* as an "r-extension" of the IE root of which we find the *men-*stem in ON *geimi*.

<sup>23</sup> "Allgemeines zur Runenlehre," in *Beiträge zur Runenkunde und nordischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Festschrift Neckel (Leipzig, 1938), p. 10.

<sup>24</sup> *Our Forefathers* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), II, 224.

<sup>25</sup> *Deutsche Mythologie*, 1st ed. (Göttingen, 1835), p. xxvii; "Gärsecg," in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, I (1841), 578; "Sägara," in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, I (1852), 206-10.

*garleac*. The swelling sea would be compared to a field of corn or sedge undulating as the wind blows over it. From examples taken from Latin literature it appears that the sea can also be named after the algae that sometimes fill it and render navigation impracticable. In our case the name might be derived from the sedge growing on the borders of the sea. We can say only that both these images are very different from common OE imagery. A third possibility Grimm discovered in Old Indian epic poetry. In the style of the romantic speculations on mythology of this period, he connected *garsecg* with the story of the *Sāgaras*; he went so far as to explain *secg*="man" as identical with *secg*="sedge," the original sense being "Schilf-mann." These considerations have justly been forgotten.

There remains a last possibility: *garsecg*="spear-man." Kemble<sup>26</sup> thought of some old myth to which *garsecg* would be a "now quite unintelligible" allusion. Bosworth-Toller<sup>27</sup> suggests comparison with Neptune. "Spear-man" must allude to some similar personality in Gmc mythology. Unfortunately no parallel figure is to be traced there. The ON sea-god Ægir has nothing to do with a spear, and the spear-god Odin has no particular relations to the sea. Yet this explanation seems not wholly abandoned, as may be seen from E. Pons's thesis and from an essay by Miss H. T. McMillan Buckhurst.<sup>28</sup> T. B. Haber, who studied the influence of Vergil on the *Beowulf*, regarded *garsecg* as a mere loan-translation for the Roman sea-deity with the trident.<sup>29</sup> The word then would be a creation of the *Beowulf*-poet. Here we come to a ticklish point. Granted that this explanation were right for the *Beowulf*, could it explain the use in the rest of OE literature? *Garsecg* occurs also in glossaries and prose, and even in *Exodus*, a poem very different from the bulk of OE poetry.<sup>30</sup>

As it is, the problem cannot be said to have come much nearer to its solution. Still there is no reason for despair; the material at our disposal is abundant, and a new interpretation of facts may be very helpful. If this brief survey raises some interest in the question, it will have reached its aim.

Aspirant F.N.R.S.  
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<sup>26</sup> *A Translation of the Anglo-Saxon Poem of Beowulf* (London, 1837), glossary, s.v. *secg*.

<sup>27</sup> *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford, 1889), p. 362, s.v. *garsecg*.

<sup>28</sup> E. Pons, *Le Thème et le sentiment de la nature dans la poésie anglo-saxonne*, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, Fasc. 25 (1925), p. 28 n.; H. Th. McMillan Buckhurst, "Terms and Phrases for the Sea," in *Studies in English Philology: A Miscellany in Honor of Frederick Klaeber* (Minneapolis, 1929), p. 108.

<sup>29</sup> *A Comparative Study of the Beowulf and the Aeneid* (Princeton, 1931), p. 69.

<sup>30</sup> L. L. Schücking, *Untersuchungen zur Bedeutungslehre der angelsächsischen Dichtersprache* (Heidelberg, 1915), pp. 12-18.

## FALSTAFF, "A FOOL AND JESTER"

By JOHN W. DRAPER

Falstaff's character, like Jaques' melancholy, is "composed of many simples": it is extracted but little from the known sources of the play, a very little from the "craven" Sir John Fastolfe in *Henry VI*, and very much from the actual soldiers, and the self-styled soldiers, who bullied and roared and lived by their wits in the London taverns;<sup>1</sup> and it also is derived in part from such old standbys of the stage as the Latin *miles gloriosus*<sup>2</sup> and the glutton parasite,<sup>3</sup> the boastful fighter in the Mediaeval Ritual Play,<sup>4</sup> and the soldiers of popular and of learned Italian comedy.<sup>5</sup> The actual London roarer, with some help from literary sources, seems to be the background of Falstaff the soldier and the bully. The parasite, who included gluttony in his bill-of-fare of virtues, supplies the background of Falstaff's sponging on Prince Hal and of his predatory visits to Shallow and to Page; but Falstaff's merry meetings with the Prince, which give most of the merriment to *Henry IV*, reflect, in their wit and practical jokes, the Elizabethan fool and butt of the foolery of others, who appears both in the life and in the theatre of the age. Indeed, Ben Jonson in *The Poetaster* seems to refer to Falstaff as a "fat fool"; and, shortly after the writing of *Henry IV*, Shakespeare's company engaged Robert Armin, the Queen's jester, to take comic parts; for him Shakespeare at once wrote the role of Feste<sup>6</sup> in *Twelfth Night*, and carefully adapted it to Armin's professional style of wit and persiflage.<sup>7</sup> The court jester and the court players, it would seem, were not unwilling to snatch a grace from one another's art.

In actual life, servingmen of good birth but narrow means were still expected to amuse their noble masters,<sup>8</sup> and sometimes proved

<sup>1</sup> See the present writer, "Sir John Falstaff," *RES*, VIII (1932), 414 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See E. E. Stoll, "Falstaff," *MP*, XII (1914), 197 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See the present writer, "Falstaff and the Plautine Parasite," *Classical Journal*, XXXIII (1938), 390 *et seq.*; J. W. Shirley, "Falstaff, an Elizabethan Glutton," *PQ*, XVII (1938), 271 *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See R. J. E. Tiddy, *The Mummers Play* (Oxford, 1923); R. Withington, *Excursions* (New York, 1937), p. 46 *et seq.*

<sup>5</sup> See O. J. Campbell, *The Italianate Background of "The Merry Wives,"* University of Michigan Publications (Ann Arbor, 1932), pp. 81 *et seq.*; and also the forthcoming studies by D. C. Boughner, some of which have been presented before the Modern Language Association of America.

<sup>6</sup> See the present writer, "Et in Illyria Feste," *Shakespeare Association Bulletin*, XVI (1941), 220 *et seq.*, and XVII (1942), 25 *et seq.*

<sup>7</sup> See T. W. Baldwin, "Shakespeare's Jester: The Dates of *Much Ado* and *As You Like It*," *MLN*, XXXIX (1924), 447 *et seq.*

<sup>8</sup> See the present writer, "Shakespeare and the *Conversazione*," *Italica*, XXIII (1946), 7 *et seq.*

to be veritable lords of misrule,<sup>9</sup> as they do in *Twelfth Night*. In Tudor comedy, likewise, the fool was rarely a professional court jester, but rather a natural-born fool like Launcelot Gobbo and Sir Andrew Aguecheek; and he is portrayed with growing realism.<sup>10</sup> But Falstaff is a sort of unofficial fool to young Prince Hal; he is the dean of the Joyous Society to which the royal heir loaned countenance: "Fol ça, fol là, fol tout par tout."<sup>11</sup> He is the recognized subject for any practical joke; he is called "fat fool" and "a Great Fool" and "a fool and jester." From the very outset of *Henry IV, Part I*, he is the constant subject of his Prince's amused contempt and foil to his Prince's wit. According to Elizabethan dramaturgy, a character's chief trait should appear at his initial entrance; and in the first lines of the first scene in which Falstaff comes on the stage in *Henry IV, Part II*, he calls himself the common butt of humor, and declares, "Men of all sorts take a pride to gird at me." When he mentions his "dagger of lath," he seems to compare himself to the Vice, or Fool, of early comedy; and, like the Vice, he is a much more moving force in the plot than most of the stupidly funny clowns and country jakes of Elizabethan drama;<sup>12</sup> and, also like Vice, he prompts the hero (Prince Hal) to evil courses. Rabelaisian laughter is his livelihood, and rascally foolery, his stock-in-trade: he implies that only wine saves him from being an utter fool and coward,<sup>13</sup> and that he depends entirely upon the willingness of others to laugh;<sup>14</sup> like Tarleton, Armin's predecessor as the Queen's jester, he again and again saves himself by witty repartee,<sup>15</sup> as Poins fears that he may do after the *contre-temps* in Mistress Quickly's house;<sup>16</sup> and he looks forward to keeping his princely patron "in continual laughter" for weeks over the worthy Justice Shallow.<sup>17</sup> Falstaff, therefore, seems *prima facie* to belong in the fool tradition; and though Warde, in treating the type, omits him,<sup>18</sup> Miss Welsford notes the parallel between him and Ben Jonson's Carlo Buffone,<sup>19</sup> and even declares him "the typical buffoon, seen, understood and interpreted by Shakespeare."<sup>20</sup> This view of Falstaff, moreover, as both the source and the butt of foolery has

<sup>9</sup> Olive Mary Busby, *The Development of the Fool in Elizabethan Drama* (Oxford, 1923), p. 13.

<sup>10</sup> Barbara Swain, *Fools and Folly during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (New York, 1932), p. 176.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>12</sup> Busby, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

<sup>13</sup> *Henry IV, Part II*, IV, iii, 94.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, iii, 87-88.

<sup>15</sup> *Tarleton's Jests*, ed. Shakespeare Soc. (London, 1844).

<sup>16</sup> *Part II*, II, iv, 287-88.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, V, i, 76-77.

<sup>18</sup> F. Warde, *The Fools of Shakespeare* (New York, 1913).

<sup>19</sup> Enid Welsford, *The Fool, His Social and Literary History* (London, 1935), p. 25.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

support in the original casting of the role. Thomas Pope, who seems to have created the part, had for years been playing the type of sometimes stupid, often knavish, funny man; he had done Don Armado, Dromio, Speed, and Peter Quince, and was soon to do Sir Toby Belch.<sup>21</sup> By 1596, Pope had apparently taken on portly middle age,<sup>22</sup> and the part of Falstaff may well have been created to capitalize his comic talents together with his girth. Miss Busby, in her well-documented study, has collected some twenty traits of character and actions and turns of speech that belong to the Elizabethan stage fool; and, in the face of the Romantic critical tradition, which would make Falstaff a serious philosopher and even a pathetic figure, at least in the *Henry* plays,<sup>23</sup> the present study proposes to interpret him, in all three plays, as the type of knavish fool, in tastes and character and action and very turn of phrase.

The Elizabethan fool, like the Classical parasite, delighted in the fruits—not to mention the wines and other pleasures—of good living;<sup>24</sup> and Falstaff's concept of high life comprised a plenitude of capons and sugared sack. In *Henry IV, Part I*, he is introduced as not only fat-bellied, but "fat-witted with drinking"; and the Prince says that Sir John cares only for "cups of sack . . . capons . . . bawds, and leaping houses." Poins, when he enters, reiterates the Prince's quips at Falstaff's notorious gusto for "a cup of Madeira and a cold capon's leg"; surely the chivalrous and philosophical Falstaff of Professor Bradley's interpretation is not the Falstaff that a competent Elizabethan playwright would introduce thus to his audience. Shortly it appears that Falstaff is not only fat, but too lazy to move without a horse. His preoccupation with meat and drink is played up repeatedly; he is "ye fat guts" and "wool-sack"; and his unpaid tavern reckoning consists mainly of two gallons of sack. These traits are evident also in *Part II*: Falstaff enjoys to the full the pleasures that Mistress Quickly and Doll Tearsheet provide; he genially expands at the solid satisfactions of Shallow's festive board, and even helps himself, uninvited, to his host's venison.<sup>25</sup> In *Merry Wives*, he seeks creature comforts by pursuing Mistress Page and Mistress Ford, and delights in Master Brook's gratuities. These same predilections make his journey in the foul buck-basket and sousing in the Thames especially obnoxious to him. Indeed, Falstaff, if not a gourmet, at least can gourmandize.

He follows the Elizabethan fool<sup>26</sup> also in his fondness for fine clothes and the exalted social rank that they were supposed to sig-

<sup>21</sup> T. W. Baldwin, *The Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company* (Princeton, 1927), Plate II, and pp. 232-33.

<sup>22</sup> See the present writer, "The Tempo of Shylock's Speech," *JEGP*, XLIV (1945), 281 *et seq.*

<sup>23</sup> A. C. Bradley, *Oxford Lectures* (New York, 1909), p. 264 *et seq.*

<sup>24</sup> Busby, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 and 63.

<sup>25</sup> *Merry Wives*, I, I, *passim*.

<sup>26</sup> Busby, *op. cit.*, p. 64.



nalize. In *Part I*, the Prince twits him with his delight in a "fair hot wench in flame-coloured taffeta"; and, in *Part II*, he promises his Doll luxurious apparel. For himself, he must have twenty-two yards of satin; he patronizes "Master Smooth's the silkman" to provide the necessities of war; and Mistress Quickly must pawn even her hangings and silver to pay for these indispensables. At the coronation he laments the lack of "new liveries" for his following; and, in *Merry Wives*, he has fallen so low that his page Robin<sup>27</sup> is reduced to chicanery to get himself "a new doublet and hose." For all his shabbiness, however, Falstaff, like other stage fools,<sup>28</sup> proclaims his gentility: he says that he started service as a page in the exalted House of Norfolk; and, at the end of *Part I*, he promises to reform and live as a nobleman should; but his subsequent career belies this resolution, for, in *Part II*, though he declares himself a "gentleman" and counts himself among "men of merit," he is no better than before. In *Merry Wives*, he plays up his knighthood to Mistress Page and to Mistress Ford, as he had earlier done to Mistress Quickly, and swears that he longs to make Mistress Ford his "lady." With blatant conceit, he fancies that they yearn for his attentions; and he refers to his "honour," and blandly asseverates "as I am a gentleman." Indeed, his preëminence of birth and knightly prowess do not stick fiery off and are revealed only in vain repetitions. He aspires to the food and clothes and social status that his barren knighthood had not supplied—for knighthood was no longer practical; and such aspirations are quite consonant with the servingman-companion of Elizabethan life and the fool of the Elizabethan stage.

Falstaff's fine food and fine clothes—when he can get them—and his affected airs and graces all show forth in comic disparity with his cowardly braggadocio; and this ironic contrast also appears in the stage fool.<sup>29</sup> Quite Falstaffian in this regard is Swash in the *Blind Beggar*; and the fool in *Solimon and Persida* rifles his enemy's body, as Falstaff does at the Battle of Shrewsbury; and Strumbo in *Locrine*, like Falstaff, saves himself in the midst of the fight by pretending to be dead.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, Falstaff's cowardice is so rank and gross in nature that only the hardest critic could gainsay it. Again and again in *Henry IV, Part I*, he eats his words: he calls Poins a thief and a rascal for stealing his horse, and yet dares not "strike him," even though the Prince dubs him "coward." He is afraid even of the harmless travelers that he plans to rob, but when they surrender, calls them vile names. When Poins and Hal in disguise attack him, he manages to run; and Poins gives climax to the scene by exclaiming, "How the rogue roared!" Later he has the impudence to

<sup>27</sup> See the present writer, "Falstaff's Robin and Other Pages," *SP*, XXXVI (1939), 476 *et seq.*

<sup>28</sup> Busby, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 54 and 65.

<sup>30</sup> *Locrine*, ii, 6. Cf. *Part II*, V, iv, 77.



brag of his bravery in the role of highwayman until Hal confounds him with the truth, and calls him a "natural coward." But he dares take no offense. Elsewhere he calls Poins a coward; but even Poins can make him eat his words. When he thinks Hal cannot hear, he boasts that he can cudgel him—and then hastens to retract when he learns that Hal has heard him. He pretends to the Prince that he has killed Percy in battle; but, unfortunately, the Prince had done it himself, and so unmasks the lie. In *Part II*, he allows even the servant of the Chief Justice to tell him that he lies in his throat—a signal insult from an underling. Any such remark from an equal should have meant a duel, or a thrashing for an inferior.<sup>81</sup> His repeated boastings could well lead the Chief Justice to refer to his "impudent sauciness." He abuses Hal and Poins even to the notorious Doll, and then whines to the Prince that he meant "no abuse"; and the Prince declares him moved by "pure fear and entire cowardice." In *Merry Wives*, after bragging what he will do to Ford, he "quaked with fear" in the basket of foul linen and suffered an "intolerable fright." Again he is in terror of Ford, and yet in the end has the assurance to brag of his bravery. Indeed, the only thing that saves him at all is his "admirable dexterity of wit," and often that wears thin. In short, he is an impudent poltroon whose cowardice is equaled only by his clever effrontery.

Not only Falstaff's character but also the situations and actions in which he is engaged show his relationship to the fool. His huge girth and awkward motion make his attempts to run and fight at Gadshill and Shrewsbury utterly ridiculous; and, when he pretends to die in battle, his getting down and getting up again must almost equal the acrobatic tricks that formed part of a fool's repertory.<sup>82</sup> He doubtless left to his subordinates the actual stealing of Shallow's deer. The Vice had started as a clever intriguer personifying Satan, but had long since become the butt of others' wit.<sup>83</sup> In the Gadshill episode, Falstaff is in the stage situation of the duper duped; again he is the dupe of the Prince and Poins at Mistress Quickly's. He does, to be sure, make a dupe of Shallow; but, in most of *Merry Wives*, he is gulled to the top of his bent until he cannot take refuge even in hilarity. Here he appears as the ridiculous lover, a common role of the stage fool,<sup>84</sup> and, like Trotter in Greene's *Fair Em*, conducts his presumptuous wooing in a grandiloquent style. He tries to catch the merry wives with the same bait that was successful with the notorious Dame Quickly, and is repulsed with indignity. The stage fool was fond of song and dancing,<sup>85</sup> and Bunch, for instance, in *The Weak-*

<sup>81</sup> See A. F. Sieveking, in *Shakespeare's England*, ed. S. Lee (Oxford, 1917), II, 402-03.

<sup>82</sup> Busby, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

*est Goeth to the Wall*, brightens his speech with gems borrowed from contemporary broadside balladry. Probably Pope was no singer, but Falstaff shows that he remembers this trait by calling for a "bawdy song." He thrice praises the singing of Master Silence, he himself, when tipsy, attempts a rendering of "When Arthur first in court," and he goes to the expense of music for his dinner of reconciliation with Mistress Quickly. In short, Falstaff, like the conventional Elizabethan fool, amuses by comic acrobatics and by songs, by practical jokes of which he himself is often the victim, and by the role of comic lover. In all these situations, he is the Elizabethan fool.

The upper classes, however, depended for their amusement chiefly on verbal legerdemain. Falstaff's recipe for humor was "a lie with a slight oath and a jest with a sad brow"; and his "jest" was like to be some whimsy of style or verbiage. On the stage, the fool rarely used blank verse or elevated discourse, and generally spoke in either prose or doggerel rhyme.<sup>86</sup> Falstaff, likewise, uses prose, even when the Prince addresses him in verse; he uses prose to the Lord Chief Justice and to Prince John and Coleville, although they are using meter. Once he speaks two lines of blank verse—when he is ridiculing Pistol's extravagant style of speech; and once he breaks into rhyme, "Your brooches, pearls and ouches," but continues in prose. Later he lapses into a few lines of blank verse in joyous anticipation of his success with the merry wives; and his love-letters close with a quintet in Skeltonic rhyme. Indeed, of the hundreds of lines that Falstaff speaks in these three plays, less than a dozen are blank verse. This use of prose makes all the more incongruous the passages of extravagant emotion that the fool drives to the point of parody.<sup>87</sup> He indulges in crocodile laments,<sup>88</sup> as in his elegy on his vanished virtue. The fat knight promises a mock-passionate speech "in King Cambyse's vein," and travesties the King speaking "in passion." In *Merry Wives*, he talks to Mistress Ford in high astounding terms that cannot be sincere, and even at the end still addresses her as his "doe." The incongruity of these ecstasies is aggravated both in the fool<sup>89</sup> and in Falstaff by swift transitions to slangy vernacular; and one feels that his flights into the grandiose exist largely for such anticlimaxes. Pistol was a master of this technique; but Falstaff, as in the other devices of foolery, was a competent practitioner. Mistress Quickly calls him a good actor; and he truly had virtuosity of style.

Indeed, age cannot wither nor custom stale his infinite variety, which ranges from crass absurdity to witty repartee, from word-play to mock-moralizing proverbs. Sir John is fertile in the invention

<sup>86</sup> Busby, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

of ridiculous explanations and anecdotes, such as characterized the fool,<sup>40</sup> for gross and circumstantial falsehood is his only escape from the chronic difficulties of his way of life. He swears and declares that he fought with dozens of opponents at Gadshill; he insists that his pocket was picked at the tavern of (purely imaginary) valuables; and he invents out of whole cloth an anecdote against Poins, whom he seems to regard as his rival in Hal's esteem. The mock "bill" was another convention of Elizabethan foolery;<sup>41</sup> and Falstaff's letter to Hal is a sort of comic proclamation. The ludicrous monologue and the apostrophe to an inanimate object were standard conventions of the type,<sup>42</sup> and Falstaff uses them three times in *Part I*, twice in *Part II*, and three times in *Merry Wives*. He soliloquizes, for example, on the abuse of the King's press, on his page, on Shallow, on wine, on the buck-basket episode, and on love. Both in life and on the stage, telling repartee was the regular refuge of the fool;<sup>43</sup> and in all three plays Falstaff furnishes a flood of instances. The use of ridiculous nicknames, a common device of the fool,<sup>44</sup> appears especially in *Part I*: Falstaff calls the Prince "you starveling, you elf-skin, you dried neat's tongue, you bull's pizzle, you stock-fish . . . you taylor's yard, you sheath, you bow-case, you vile standing tuck . . . ." He calls Bardolph "Knight of the Burning Lamp," alluding to his rubious nose, and has pat soubriquets also for the Hostess, Robin, and Pistol. Indeed, Falstaff is the pure Elizabethan fool in his use of fictitious anecdote and parody, in his ludicrous apostrophes and monologues, in his keen repartee, and in the scurrilous names that he foists on those about him.

Of all types of wit, the Elizabethans most relished word-play and such stylistic trickery as comic alliteration and mock-Euphuistic balance. Strumbo in *Lochrine* parodies Euphuism;<sup>45</sup> Falstaff, in the characteristic manner of fools,<sup>46</sup> again and again plays on a letter. His discussion of camomile in *Part I* and his balanced aphorisms and outlandish allusions in the *Merry Wives* are redolent of Lyly's masterpiece. Like a true fool,<sup>47</sup> he perverts, repeats, and puns on words, plays on the names of the recruits in *Part II*, and persists in misunderstanding the Chief Justice; and, in *Merry Wives*, he achieves a neat double meaning with the word *angels*. The slip of the tongue, often intentional, he generally leaves to Mistress Quickly, but in *Part I* he seems to make one on "grace." Paradox and oxymoron were commonplaces of the fool's repertoire,<sup>48</sup> and Falstaff repeatedly

<sup>40</sup> Busby, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

<sup>45</sup> *Lochrine*, I, iii.

<sup>46</sup> Busby, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

indulges in ironic contradictions. Hal is the "rascalliest sweet young prince," and the knight attributes all his own vices to him. Falstaff's description of himself as "kind" and "true" and "valiant," and "old in judgment and understanding," forms a very climax of paradox. His characterization of Mistress Quickly as "a poor mad soul" who thinks that he will marry her, his pretense that he has "checked" Hal for boxing the ear of the Chief Justice, and his declaration of deep love to Mistress Ford, all these are good, not to say extravagant, examples. Moreover, like the generality of fools,<sup>49</sup> Falstaff chops logic and parodies the syllogism. Repeatedly in all three plays, he amply displays the verbal quips and pranks that the Elizabethan audience associated with the stage fool and the dissolute companion of youthful noblemen.

At times Falstaff lapses into a mock seriousness that has been deceptive to some moderns, and his serio-comic proverbs and bits of moralizing and of satire are also characteristic of his type. Like the conventional fool who was much given to proverbs, often misapplied,<sup>50</sup> Falstaff turns to his purpose such ancient sayings as "Watch and pray"<sup>51</sup>—wrested from its original Benedictine meaning. Sometimes he coins an aphorism *ad hoc*: "Tis no sin for a man to labor in his vocation"; "The better part of valour is discretion"; "... skill in the weapon is nothing without sack"; and "To wake a wolf is as bad as to smell a fox." He uses tags of Latin, often comically, "ecce signum," "memento mori," and "ignis fatuus," the last applied to Bardolph's face. Just as the fool often insisted on his own wisdom,<sup>52</sup> so Falstaff paraded the moralistic shreds and patches that he had perhaps inherited from his Lollard forebear, Oldcastle. At times his language has an unctuous smack of Holy Writ: "trouble me no more with vanity"; he comments on "villainous man" and the "bad world"; and he is as ready to repent as Robert Greene, especially when he finds it convenient to turn informer on the Prince's escapades. He takes a high moral tone against giving his tailor security for the clothes he has ordered, and says that he has lost his voice with "singing of anthems." Thus he is a sort of satire on himself, and provides satiric slurs at other characters, at bourgeois virtue, and at the social status quo. This is all quite in the vein of the Elizabethan fool.<sup>53</sup> He satirizes Hal as Crown Prince; he weeps crocodile tears that "virtue" is disregarded "in these costermonger times"; and all the while he is himself a living diatribe on the degeneration of feudalism and army life.

In short, not only Falstaff's way of life and livelihood, his comparisons of himself to a Vice, his love of good living and his parade

<sup>49</sup> Busby, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. L. B. Wright, *Middle Class Culture* (Chapel Hill, 1935), p. 257.

<sup>52</sup> Busby, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73; Welsford, *op. cit.*, pp. 280-81.

<sup>53</sup> Busby, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

of gentility and of affected airs and graces, his flagrant cowardice, his huge girth and awkwardness of motion, his situations as comic soldier and comic lover, but also his whole technique of speech, his prose occasionally mixed with doggerel rhyme and his mock-poetic flights, his absurd stories and grandiose and petty lies, his word-play and fine sayings in pseudo-moralistic vein, all these stamp him as the Elizabethan fool par excellence, to be so recognized by any theatre-goer of the age. Nearly all of these characteristics appear in all of his three plays; and he has hardly an action or a speech—and he speaks nearly two thousand lines—that does not have its parallel in the stage fool of the day; and, vice versa, there is not a single trait of the stage fool that Falstaff does not illustrate. He is *miles gloriosus* and parasite and glutton, and furthermore, he is, as Shakespeare's words repeatedly declare him, a "great fool" and "a fool and jester."

The Elizabethan fool shows several variations and something of an evolution. *Wit without Money* notes three sorts of fools: "An innocent, a knave-fool, a fool politic."<sup>84</sup> Such stupid bumpkins as Launce and Gobbo belong in the first class; the court fools, Feste and the Fool in *Lear*, belong in the third; and Falstaff is the "knave-fool," fittingly introduced as at odds with "old father antic the law." So broadly conceived, however, is his part that he fits most of the items in *The XXV Orders of Fools* described in a contemporary broadside ballad:<sup>85</sup> he is aged; he causes ill reports; he disdains wisdom, yet preaches to others; he fails to provide in youth for his old age; he flatters and cogs and boasts. He is all three types of fool emphasized in Armin's *Nest of Ninnies*: he is sinner, social critic, and merry-maker. The stage portrayal of the fool was in transition from the stupid rustic who was a "mere booby" to "the more pretentious clown";<sup>86</sup> and Falstaff seems to show the consummation of this change. The fat knight is no country clown, but rather one of Lyly's (or Shakespeare's) jesting pages come to man's estate, and reduced by the decline of feudalism to shifts and chicaneries for a livelihood; and his page Robin may well be a depiction of his own early life and bringing up.<sup>87</sup> Such a theory seems to find support in the original casting of the part, for Thomas Pope had played the comic roles of Dromio and Speed and Quince and Fluellen, and apparently Shakespeare created Falstaff for this seasoned actor of broad comedy who had grown too old and portly for more lightsome parts.

The old Romantic concept of Falstaff ignored, or tried to explain away, his obvious vices and poltroonery, and interpreted him, in the words of Professor Bradley, as a "philosopher of humor." In 1914, Professor Stoll attacked this theory and showed that the Eliza-

<sup>84</sup> *Wit without Money*, II, ii.

<sup>85</sup> *Black Letter Ballads and Broad-sides* (London, 1870), p. 88 et seq.

<sup>86</sup> Busby, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>87</sup> See the present writer, "Falstaff's Robin and Other Pages," *cit. supra*.

bethans would have recognized Falstaff as the *miles gloriosus*, and therefore as a knave and a coward. Since then a series of studies has supplied yet other types of background, all tending to a derogatory view of his character: he is not only the boastful soldier of the stage, but also the parasite and the glutton; he is not only a stage convention, but also a realistic figure drawn from London life, an old man trying to maintain his youthful verve and follies by the drinking of sweet wines,<sup>58</sup> a disreputable officer in the corrupt transition from feudal to modern military life.<sup>59</sup> The present paper presents another phase of this effort to recover Falstaff's background in contemporary life and on the stage, and, like the others, it reveals him as far removed from the good and great "philosopher" that Professor Bradley pictures. The theory that the Elizabethans could have admired his code of honor, public or private, has already been sufficiently exploded: in the present study, he appears not only as a knave but as a "fool"; and his foolery coincides, in word and action, with the stage fools of the age, and, as far as one may judge, with the actual lords of misrule who catered to the great, such as Somerset and the three knights who were "Master Fools" to James I.<sup>60</sup> Just such was his relation with Prince Hal; and it seems unthinkable that even the densest dullard of the Elizabethan audience would mistake Strumbo or Somerset for Plato or Aquinas, or even for Shakespeare's Prospero or Gonzalo.

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<sup>58</sup> See R. E. Sims, "The Green Old Age of Falstaff," *Bull. Hist. Med.*, XIII (1943), 144 *et seq.*

<sup>59</sup> J. W. Fortescue, in *Shakespeare's England*, ed. *cit.*, I, 121 *et seq.*

<sup>60</sup> Welsford, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

## CHESTERFIELD AND THE STANDARD OF USAGE IN ENGLISH

By J. H. NEUMANN

When Lord Chesterfield set out, in the middle years of the eighteenth century, to fashion a gentleman after his own heart, not the least of his concerns was his son's literary and linguistic training. In almost a hundred letters out of the four hundred odd in the Bonamy Dobrée collection addressed to his son, he deals entirely or in large part with literary and linguistic matters, and in fifty of these he discusses questions affecting the English language.<sup>1</sup> These letters reveal only one aspect of Chesterfield's serious and abiding interest in the English language, indications of which appear also in his correspondence with other members of his family and friends, as well as in his essays and occasional pieces of writing. One recalls in this connection Dr. Johnson's tribute in his *Plan of a Dictionary* (1747), in which he hails Chesterfield as a person whose authority in the language is generally acknowledged, assuring him that in passing judgment upon matters of language he, as lexicographer, would be merely exercising a kind of "vicarious jurisdiction" as his Lordship's delegate. Similar acknowledgments of Lord Chesterfield's interest and authority appear in the works of the two other great dictionary makers of the period, Sheridan and Walker. Sheridan, for example, establishes the propriety of the pronunciations he recommends by describing them as current in the polite society of the Earl of Chesterfield.<sup>2</sup> In an earlier work he had already appealed to the noble Lord to become the "establisher" of the language by organizing some sort of institution for "correcting, ascertaining, and fixing" the English language, and by sponsoring a system of public education in which the art of oratory would be fostered.<sup>3</sup> Walker, too, ascribes to Chesterfield's influence changes in the pronunciation of certain words.<sup>4</sup> Opinions and tributes of this kind were not unusual in the works of the orthoëpists and rhetoricians of the latter part of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nine-

<sup>1</sup> Bonamy Dobrée, *The Letters of Philip Dormer Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield*, 6 volumes (London, 1932). All references to the letters in this paper are to this edition.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Sheridan, *A Complete Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language*, 3rd ed. (London, 1790), I, Preface, C<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Sheridan, *British Education, or the Sources of the Disorders of Great Britain* (London, 1756), p. xvi. In this work Sheridan also refers to a proposal made by Chesterfield to the provost and fellows of the University of Dublin for the endowment of "lectures in the art of reading and speaking English," a proposal which was apparently abandoned after Chesterfield's departure from Ireland.

<sup>4</sup> John Walker, *A Critical Pronouncing Dictionary and Expositor of the English Language* (London, 1785), Introduction, p. 111.



teenth; and it is remarkable that Chesterfield's role in the standardization of the language should have received so little attention from the earlier historians of English usage.<sup>5</sup>

An explanation for this circumstance is perhaps to be sought in the fact that on the whole there is little in Chesterfield that is strikingly novel or unusual. Indeed, novelty or unusualness is hardly to be expected either from the man or from the circles in which he moved. It is precisely this fact that makes Chesterfield significant in the history of the language, for he brings into sharp focus, as it were, the best that was known and thought in the mid-eighteenth century about the English language, and he is, in a sense, an excellent representative of the linguistic ideals of his age and environment—ideals, moreover, which have a direct bearing on later thinking about questions of English usage.

The problem of paramount interest in all eighteenth-century discussions of English was the problem of "authority." What kind of English was to be regarded as "correct" and "proper"—*standard*, in other words? Where was it to be found? How determined? In the case of other European languages these questions were easily answered: the literary and linguistic academies of Italy and France constituted such an authority and provided such a standard. But English, though it was not below these two in literary rank, had not—so it was felt—achieved a similar linguistic perfection. Its vocabulary had not been "refined," its spelling and pronunciation were still unsettled, and its grammar uncertain. In one of his early letters to his son Lord Chesterfield repeats the common eighteenth-century complaint. The French and Italians, he says, devote a great deal of attention to their languages: witness their academies and dictionaries. "To our shame be it spoken, it is less attended to here than in any other polite country."<sup>6</sup> In another letter, written shortly afterwards, he returns to the subject more explicitly. Even in common conversation, he says, the French attend to the purity and delicacy of their language, and an academy is employed in "fixing" it. The Crusca in Italy have the same object, and Chesterfield avers he has met with very few Italians who did not speak their own language correctly and elegantly. "How much more necessary is it for an Englishman to do so who is to speak in a public assembly where the laws and liberties of his country are the subjects of his deliberations."<sup>7</sup> He even casts a half-envious, half-contemptuous glance at

<sup>5</sup> Lounsbury, for example, does not mention him at all in his *Standard of Usage in English* and refers to him only incidentally in his other books. Emerson ignores him completely except to name him as the person to whom Johnson's letter was addressed. The more recent writers on English, such as Wyld, Baugh, and McKnight, refer to him in illustration of various points of spelling and pronunciation.

<sup>6</sup> Letter 1672. Unless the contrary is indicated, the letters referred to in these notes are letters to Chesterfield's son.

<sup>7</sup> Letter 1677.

Spain, where "they have a number of people, less ignorant . . . than the rest, whom they call an Academy," and who have lately published a Spanish dictionary in eight volumes in folio<sup>8</sup>—a stage which the English language had not yet reached, and indeed, was not to reach for another hundred years.

The lack of such authoritative dictionaries, which were the crowning achievement of the foreign academies, Chesterfield felt to be a genuine misfortune. In a letter to the Bishop of Clonfert, who had proposed a plan for "improving" the English language—one of the many which the century produced—Chesterfield deplores the attention bestowed upon the ancient languages to the total exclusion of the vernacular. "Pedantry and affectation of learning have in pursuit of two dead languages . . . let our own be neglected to such a degree, that though we have ten thousand Greek and Latin grammars and dictionaries, we have not yet one in English."<sup>9</sup>

The dictionary which Chesterfield contemplated, however, was not to be a mere "word-book"—an indiscriminate listing of all the words in the language without indication of their propriety or elegance. Such a dictionary would hardly be an improvement on those already in existence: it would not provide the standard which he sought. In an authoritative dictionary the words would have to be subjected to a process of "examining, sifting, winnowing . . . purifying, and finally fixing." They would have to meet rigid tests of "sound," as well as "propriety." Moreover, foreignisms would be carefully examined and their admission controlled. It was the hope that Johnson's dictionary would do these very things which called forth his wholehearted approval.

I cannot help thinking it a sort of disgrace to our nation that hitherto we have had no such standard of our language; our dictionaries at present being more properly . . . word-books . . . All words, good and bad, are there jumbled indiscriminately together, insomuch that the injudicious reader may speak and write as inelegantly, improperly, and vulgarly as he pleases, and by the authority of our word-books. It must be owned that our language is at present in a stage of anarchy . . . During our free and open trade, many words and expressions have been imported, adopted, and naturalized from other languages, which have greatly enriched our own. Let it still preserve what real strength and beauty it may have borrowed from others; but let it not, like the Tarpeian maid, be overwhelmed and crushed by unnecessary foreign ornaments. The time for discrimination seems to be now come. Toleration, adoption, and naturalization have run their lengths. Good order and authority are now necessary. But where shall we find them, and at the same time the obedience due to them? We must have recourse to the old Roman expedient in times of confusion and chuse a dictator. Upon this principle I give my vote to Mr. Johnson to fill that great and arduous post. And I hereby declare that I make a total surrender of my rights and privileges in the English language as a freeborn British subject to the said Mr. Johnson during the term of his dictatorship.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Letter 1868.

<sup>9</sup> Letter 1830, To the Bishop of Clonfert.

<sup>10</sup> *The World*, No. 100 (November 28, 1754).

On the question of what constitutes correctness or propriety Chesterfield's position is clear. The language of the lower classes is, of course, to be avoided because it is full of barbarisms, solecisms, mispronunciations, and vulgar words and phrases, all of which are the marks of "a low turn of mind, low education, and low company."<sup>11</sup> Nor will the language of "ordinary people" do, for "ordinary people in general speak in defiance of all grammar, use words that are not English, and murder those that are."<sup>12</sup> A direct admonition as to the kind of language one ought not to use occurs in one of Chesterfield's French letters.

Il ne suffit point de ne pas parler mal; mais il faut parler bien, et le meilleur moyen d'y parvenir est de lire avec attention les meilleures livres, et de remarquer comment les honnêtes gens et ceux qui parlent le mieux s'expriment; car les bourgeois, le petit peuple, les laquais, et les servantes, tout cela parlent mal. Ils ont des expressions basses et vulgaires, dont les honnêtes gens ne doivent jamais se servir.<sup>13</sup>

The best language is the language of "good company," which Chesterfield finds it hard to define more exactly than to say that it is the language spoken by "the people of the first fashion in the place,"<sup>14</sup> that is, by persons of sense and character "who are universally allowed to be, and are called good company."<sup>15</sup> This segment of society naturally exhibits the best manners and uses the best language; in fact, it actually "establishes and gives tone to both."<sup>16</sup> In only one letter does Chesterfield mention the Court as a possible source of good English, and in that letter the emphasis is on matters other than linguistic.<sup>17</sup>

A very important additional qualification as to the character and source of good usage comes from another letter, one in which Chesterfield comments on his son's use of the word *disaffection* in the sense of "want of affection." Though the employment of the word in this sense may be logically correct, he says, usage does not sanction it, and in questions of language usage alone decides. Moreover,

that usage, as I have observed before, is the usage of people of fashion and letters. The common people of every country speak their own language very ill; the people of fashion (as they are called) speak it better, but not always correctly, because they are not always people of letters. Those who speak their own language most accurately are those who have learning, and are at

<sup>11</sup> Letter 701. See also Letters 740, 1653, 1735.

<sup>12</sup> Letter 729. This state of affairs is particularly true, according to Chesterfield, of "most women." Cf. also Letter 2415, To his Godson.

<sup>13</sup> Letter 659.

<sup>14</sup> Letter 1585.

<sup>15</sup> Letter 2390. To his Godson. "Low company" is defined in the same letter as consisting of "obscure, insignificant people, unknown and unseen in the polite part of the world, and distinguished by no one particular merit or talent." Chesterfield is at pains to make clear that by "low company" he does not mean persons of humble birth—"for birth is nothing with me."

<sup>16</sup> Letter 1596. See also *The World*, No. 151 (November 20, 1755).

<sup>17</sup> Letter 1735.

the same time in the polite world; at least their language will be reckoned the standard language of that country.<sup>18</sup>

The standard language, therefore, is the language of people of "good company," who at the same time "have learning"; in other words, the language of persons of education and position in the community. In this definition Chesterfield ranges himself definitely on the side of what Professor Jespersen calls the aristocratic ideal in language matters and anticipates a great deal of contemporary theorizing about the nature of standard language.<sup>19</sup>

It is instructive to compare this definition of Chesterfield's with Defoe's definition of a "perfect style or language," as given in his *Complete English Tradesman* (1725), though it should be observed that Defoe is concerned chiefly with the problem of effectiveness of style, rather than with that of standardization of usage. If any man were to ask him, says Defoe, what he supposed to be a perfect style, he would answer,

that in which a man speaking to five hundred people, all of common and various capacities, should be understood by them all in the same sense in which the speaker intended to be understood.<sup>20</sup>

One notices in this definition the emphasis on the practical, communicative aspects of language and the disregard of aesthetic considerations. The two definitions suggest also the differing interests, inclinations, purposes, and social backgrounds of the two authors. If Chesterfield represents the aristocratic ideal, Defoe may well be said to represent a more popular, middle-class point of view.

Exactly what Chesterfield had in mind by standard English may be ascertained from an examination of the comments he makes on various points of vocabulary, spelling, and pronunciation.

To take the last item first. No aspect of language draws such frequent comment in Chesterfield's letters to his son as pronunciation. In a score of letters he emphasizes the need of a careful pronunciation and warns his son against the dangers—social, in the main—of indistinct, "untuneful," and hurried speech.<sup>21</sup> "Your bad enunciation," he says, "runs so much in my mind and gives me such real

<sup>18</sup> Letter 887. Further evidence of the importance of usage in Chesterfield's concept of standard language appears in Letter 1922: "Every language has its peculiarities; they are established by usage, and whether right or wrong, they must be complied with. I could instance very many absurd ones in different languages, but so authorized by the *jus et norma loquendi*, that they must be submitted to."

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Otto Jespersen, *Mankind, Nation, and Individual from a Linguistic Point of View* (Oslo, 1925), pp. 105 ff. The reference to people of learning rests upon older classical tradition. Cf. Ben Jonson's appeal to the "consent of the learned" in *Discoveries* as a principle in establishing canons of usage. The phrase itself is Quintilian's.

<sup>20</sup> Daniel Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman* (ed. Oxford, 1841), I, 19.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. particularly Letters 704, 1581, 1601, 1612, 1669, 1713.

concern, that it will be the subject of this, and I believe, of many other letters."<sup>22</sup> He would hate, he says in another, to have people call his son "muttering Stanhope."<sup>23</sup> "Do you not suffer," he asks in a third, "when people accost you . . . in an untuneful voice, with false accents and cadences?"<sup>24</sup> His remarks, however, are of a general nature; only rarely does he say anything about the pronunciation of single words or sounds. In one letter, for example, commenting on the importance of "proper" pronunciation, he characterizes the speech of the vulgar person as carrying the mark of the beast along with it. "He calls the earth *yearth*; he is *obleiged*, not obliged, to you; he goes *to wards*, not towards, such a place."<sup>25</sup> In another letter he prescribes an exercise for the pronunciation of *r*, a sound with which the young man had some difficulty.<sup>26</sup> The general principle governing pronunciation is contained in the statement that "a man of fashion takes care to pronounce properly, that is, according to the usage of the best company."<sup>27</sup> This is as close as the eighteenth century got to an exact definition of correct pronunciation; the standard suggested here by Chesterfield is widely held even today.<sup>28</sup>

The existence of proper and improper pronunciations implied also the existence of correct and incorrect spellings. The subject is an important one in Chesterfield's view of language, and his comments indicate an awareness of the social value of correct spelling.

I must tell you that orthography . . . is absolutely necessary for a man of letters or a gentleman, that one false spelling may fix a ridicule upon him for the rest of his life. And I know a man of quality who never recovered having spelled *wholesome* without the *w*.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Letter 1569.

<sup>23</sup> Letter 1673.

<sup>24</sup> Letter 1677.

<sup>25</sup> Letter 1661. See also Letter 1672. The pronunciation of *earth* with the prosthetic *y* was sanctioned by some eighteenth-century orthoëpists, though it was generally regarded as dialectal. John Jones, *Practical Phonography* (1701), who purports to give the pronunciation of "London, the Universities, and the Court," also advocates the pronunciation of *yerb* for *herb*. C. Cooper, however, in the somewhat earlier *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* (1685) condemns *yearth* as dialectal.

The pronunciation of *oblige* with the "long *e*" [i:] had been fashionable among polite speakers for some time, according to Walker, "to give a hint of their knowledge of the French language." But Chesterfield's authority carried so much weight that the "broad English *i*" [ai] was restored to it "in those circles where a few years ago it would have been an infallible mark of vulgarity." Robert Nares, *Elements of Orthoëpy* (1784), p. 28, says that the word still retained its "long *e*" sound "notwithstanding the proscription of that pronunciation by the late Lord Chesterfield."

In the case of the word *towards*, Chesterfield may have objected either to the position of the accent or to the pronunciation of the *w*. Sheridan indicates a pronunciation without the *w* [ɑ:rdz].

<sup>26</sup> Letter 1713.

<sup>27</sup> Letter 1661.

<sup>28</sup> George H. McKnight, *Modern English in the Making* (New York, 1930), p. 568.

<sup>29</sup> Letter 1737.

Chesterfield often corrects his son's "gross faults" in spelling, subjecting even his French letters to scrutiny on this score.<sup>80</sup> The uncertainty of English spelling also forms the subject of a long passage in one of his papers in *The World*, in which he discusses the forthcoming volumes of Johnson's dictionary.

We have at present two very different orthographies, the pedantic and the polite; the one founded upon certain dry crabbed rules of etymology and grammar, and the other upon the justness and delicacy of the ear. I am thoroughly persuaded that Mr. Johnson will endeavour to establish the former; and I perfectly agree with him, provided it can be quickly brought about. Spelling as well as music is best performed by book than merely by ear . . . and I therefore earnestly recommend to my fair countrywomen and their faithful or faithless servants, the fine gentlemen of this realm, to surrender as well for their own private as for public utility, all their natural rights and privileges of misspelling which they have so long enjoyed and so vigorously exerted. I have really known fatal consequences attend that loose and uncertain practice of auricular orthography.<sup>81</sup>

Chesterfield's conservative attitude toward spelling recalls the similar attitude of Swift and Johnson toward the many schemes for spelling reform with which the century abounded. His humorous reference to the spellings affected by his fair countrywomen recalls Swift's gibes at the "belle" or "beau" spellings of his own contemporaries, and his preference for "grammatical" and "etymological" spelling suggests Johnson's insistence upon analogical and traditional spelling. His orthographic conservatism appears also in the comment he makes upon an edition of Voltaire's *Histoire du Siècle de Louis XIV*, the spelling of which had been modernized. The new spelling, says Chesterfield, is a "puerile affectation, which I wish the book had been free from."<sup>82</sup> The principle basic to his comments on spelling seems to be that in cases of disputed usage tradition alone provides the authority for determining correctness. If he appears to be less irritated than Swift at the newer spellings, the difference is entirely one of temperament, not of point of view.

The standards of taste which apply to usage in general, and to pronunciation and spelling in particular, apply also to diction, to the choice of word and phrase.

Mind your diction in whatever language you either write or speak; contract a habit of correctness and elegance. . . . When you doubt the propriety or elegance of a word or phrase, consult some good dead or living authority in that language.<sup>83</sup>

Old words are to be avoided, for though they may be "true and correct English," they become stiff and inelegant and "in some degree Scriptural." The particular occasion for these remarks was the use

<sup>80</sup> Letters 741 and 1656.

<sup>81</sup> *The World*, No. 101 (December 5, 1754).

<sup>82</sup> Letter 1823.

<sup>83</sup> Letter 1675.



by his son of the two words *namely* and *mine* (*own*). For *namely* Chesterfield suggests *which is* or *that is*. As for *mine* before a vowel, "that is certainly correct, but it is too correct, and is now disused, notwithstanding the hiatus occasioned [by it]." <sup>84</sup> In another letter, in the course of some remarks on the use of obsolete words from Latin authors, Chesterfield points out the affectation involved. The practice, he says, is just as absurd as if one were to use the language of Chaucer or Spenser and assert that that was good English—"because it was English in their days." <sup>85</sup> Good English, in other words, according to Chesterfield, is current English.

An excellent test of elegance in diction is sound. "Consult your own ear to avoid cacophony," he advises his son, "and what is near as bad, monotony." <sup>86</sup> In another letter he urges him to test the quality of his translations from foreign languages by their sound. Correct them, he says, "till they satisfy your ear as well as your understanding." <sup>87</sup> In a third letter he emphasizes the importance of euphony in determining the choice of the relative pronouns *who*, *what*, and *that*. <sup>88</sup>

A number of words and phrases are commented upon in the course of the letters and essays. The word *liable*, for example, "can never be used in a good sense," <sup>89</sup> and *disaffection*, mentioned above, is seldom or never used to express "want of affection," but always displeasure with the government. <sup>90</sup> The word *spirit* in the phrase "a man of spirit" is a "silly, fashionable term," <sup>91</sup> and the adjective *vast* and the adverb *vastly*, both used as intensives, are likewise ridiculed as "fashionable words of the most fashionable people." <sup>92</sup> In a number of letters Chesterfield condemns them as improper, and in one he "proscribes" them out of the diction of a gentleman. <sup>93</sup> Another "fashionable" word is *taste*, which forms the subject of a satirical essay in *Common Sense*. <sup>94</sup> The noun *flirtation* and the verb to *fuzze* are similarly satirized in *The World* as feminine additions to the

<sup>84</sup> Letter 1922. On this point cf. Johnson's Dictionary, *s. v. mine*: "It was anciently the practice to use *my* before a consonant and *mine* before a vowel, which euphony still requires to be observed." The word *namely* in the sense of *to wit*, *that is to say*, appears first, according to the NED, in Addison (1711).

<sup>85</sup> Letter 1593.

<sup>86</sup> Letter 1758.

<sup>87</sup> Letter 1675.

<sup>88</sup> Letter 1801.

<sup>89</sup> Letter 1672.

<sup>90</sup> Letter 887.

<sup>91</sup> Letter 2038, To Solomon Dayrolles. Cf. also Letter 2618, To his Godson, and *The World*, No. 196 (September 30, 1756). Johnson calls the word *spirit* in this sense a gallicism—"a French word happily growing obsolete."

<sup>92</sup> *The World*, No. 101. The popularity of *vastly* continued well into the nineteenth century. For later illustrations cf. Johan Storm, *Englische Philologie* (Leipzig, 1896), I, 396.

<sup>93</sup> Letter 1663. Cf. also Letters 1661, 2468, 2473, 2515. The last three are addressed to Dr. Monsey and his Godson.

<sup>94</sup> *Common Sense*, No. 54 (February 11, 1738).



language.<sup>45</sup> Among the words which Chesterfield rejects as "low" or "vulgar" are several that might more properly be described as colloquial or idiomatic. Thus, for example, he condemns the phrase *to cut a figure*, instead of *to make a figure*, as "the very lowest vulgarity in the English language."<sup>46</sup> Other verbs and verbal phrases similarly condemned are *to while away (one's time)*,<sup>47</sup> *to do* in the sense of "to succeed, to fulfil a purpose,"<sup>48</sup> *to make as if*,<sup>49</sup> *to set about*,<sup>50</sup> *to buckle to (something)* meaning "to attend, to apply."<sup>51</sup> Among the phrases designated as "vulgar" are *now or never*, and *for good*.<sup>52</sup> The expression *to carry (an election) all hollow* is criticized as representing the language of jockeys.<sup>53</sup> The objection to the use of idioms was widespread throughout the classical period; it undoubtedly grew out of the feeling that idioms were often syntactically irregular and logically unaccountable.<sup>54</sup>

Some of the words and expressions to which Chesterfield objects were probably dialectal or slang even in his own time. The expressions *this here*, *that there*, *agone for ago*, *as how for that*, *if so be that* for the simple *if*, and *for to* for the sign of the infinitive *to*, all of which are woven into a "caricatura" of a letter which Chesterfield composed for his son's edification, were apparently common Londonisms or southernisms in the eighteenth century; several are so described by Pegge.<sup>55</sup> The first two have survived as colloquialisms to our own days. One or two other words or phrases are described as Irish: "I am what you call in Ireland—and a very good expression it is—*unwell*."<sup>56</sup> Chesterfield uses this word frequently though he generally underlines it; and he is said on the authority of Crabbe to have introduced the word into common use.<sup>57</sup> Another expression called Irish is *I have got a loss*.<sup>58</sup>

Chesterfield himself was not averse to using some of these very words and phrases, though he invariably introduces them with an

<sup>45</sup> *The World*, No. 101. The word *flirtation*, according to Johnson, is a "cant word among women," while *to fuzz* is a word "without etymology."

<sup>46</sup> Letter 1663. The word is also ridiculed by Swift in *Polite Conversation*.

<sup>47</sup> Letter 1922.

<sup>48</sup> Letter 2138, To A. C. Stanhope.

<sup>49</sup> Letter 1823.

<sup>50</sup> Letter 1672.

<sup>51</sup> Letter 2021.

<sup>52</sup> Letter 2443, To Lord Dartmouth, and Letter 2592, To his Godson. Swift calls for good a "genteel phrase" (*Journal to Stella*, July 5, 1711).

<sup>53</sup> Letter 2527.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Johnson's condemnation of idioms as "licentious." See Logan Pearsall Smith, *Words and Idioms*, 4th ed. (London, 1933), p. 264, and Zilpha E. Chandler, *An Analysis of the Stylistic Technique of Addison, Johnson, Hazlitt, and Pater*, University of Iowa Humanistic Publications, First Series, No. 147 (1928), p. 49.

<sup>55</sup> Letter 1672. Cf. Samuel Pegge, *Anecdotes of the English Language*, 2nd ed. (London, 1804).

<sup>56</sup> Letter 1958, To the Bishop of Waterford.

<sup>57</sup> See the *NED* under the word *unwell*. It was generally dialectal before 1780.

<sup>58</sup> Letter 717, To Dr. Chenevix.

apologetic remark. Thus, though he labels the word to *puff* in the sense of "to praise or extol" awkward—a word used by the "mob," he calls it in one letter—he himself uses it no less than a dozen times in letters to his son.<sup>59</sup> Other words and phrases, too, which have a popular or even slangy flavor, occur at times. He objects to the phrase *penny-wise*,<sup>60</sup> probably because it is a "tradesman's word," yet he confides in a letter to Solomon Dayrolles, referring to a painting by Rubens which he had commissioned him to purchase: "I would go *pretty deep* to have it."<sup>61</sup> "I set out for Bath tomorrow morning," he writes in another letter, "in hopes of a temporary *vamp*."<sup>62</sup> The word *writative*, a creation of Pope's condemned by Johnson as something "not to be imitated," occurs several times in his letters, as do also the slang expressions *whipper-snapper* and *tit-for-tat*, both of which are described as vulgar.

Chesterfield's objection to the use of "hard words," an objection which he voices two or three times in the course of his correspondence, may be explained as arising from the fact that such a usage sins against two cardinal principles of good writing, namely, clearness and want of affectation. In a French letter he says

L'affecté, le précieux, le néologique y sont trop à la mode d'aujourd'hui. Connaissiez-les, remarquez-les, et parlez-les même à la bonne heure, mais ne vous en laissez infecter.<sup>63</sup>

The underlying principle of all good writing is "elegant simplicity." The vulgar person will often affect hard words by way of ornament, but these words will issue mangled from his lips.<sup>64</sup> In short, one should avoid a stiff and formal accuracy, "especially what the women call *hard words*, when plain ones just as expressive are at hand."<sup>65</sup>

On the subject of loan-words from the French, Chesterfield is strangely silent. His letters abound, of course, in words, phrases, and proverbial expressions borrowed from the French, and, despite his general strictures on importations from foreign languages, he frequently goes out of his way to praise the French language. Sometimes he begins a sentence in English and finishes it in French, and French connectives like *à propos*, *d'ailleurs*, *n'importe* appear frequently in his English correspondence. Occasionally he uses a French word or phrase with the implication that the corresponding word or phrase does not exist in English. "This sort of *badinage* has something engaging and *liant* in it."<sup>66</sup> "I dare say," he says in another let-

<sup>59</sup> See particularly Letters 1661, 1730, 1752, 1780, 1885.

<sup>60</sup> Letter 741.

<sup>61</sup> Letter 1600, To Solomon Dayrolles.

<sup>62</sup> Letter 1934, To Solomon Dayrolles.

<sup>63</sup> Letter 1742.

<sup>64</sup> Letter 1661.

<sup>65</sup> Letter 2415, To his Godson.

<sup>66</sup> Letter 1753.

ter, "you have heard and read of the *je ne sais quoi*, for the expression is now adopted in our language."<sup>67</sup> Occasionally also he employs a French proverbial expression allusively: "I . . . heartily congratulate myself for having got out of that *galère*, which has since been so ridiculously tossed, so essentially damaged, and is now sinking."<sup>68</sup> An indication of his attitude toward French loan-words appears in one of his essays in *The World*.

We are accused by the French, and perhaps but too justly, of having no word in our language, which corresponds to their word *police*, which therefore we have been obliged to adopt, not having, as they say, the thing. . . . It does not occur to me that we have any one word in our language, I hope not from the same reason, to express the ideas which they comprehend under their word *les mœurs*. Manners are too little; morals are too much . . .<sup>69</sup>

Chesterfield's frequent recourse to French words is to be ascribed therefore to a desire for greater exactness in word and phrase, though other considerations, especially aesthetic ones, were not lacking. Among the French words and phrases the first occurrence of which in literature is ascribed to Chesterfield by the *New English Dictionary*, are *brochure*, *coterie*, *début*, *dénouement*, *distrain*, *de trop*, *dilettante*, *etiquette*, *gauche*, *hors de combat*, *persiflage*, *picnic*, *précis*, *rouge* (in the sense of "a red preparation for coloring the skin"), *sang-froid*, *soi-disant*, *tournure*.<sup>70</sup>

Chesterfield's readiness to employ French words invites comparison with the similar practice of the other great letter-writer of the period, Horace Walpole. In the absence of a study of the actual usage of these two men it is difficult to draw any but tentative conclusions; but a reading of the works of both gives the impression that Walpole is less restrained in his borrowings than Chesterfield. Certainly his name appears more frequently on the pages of the Oxford Dictionary as the introducer of French words than that of his older contemporary.<sup>71</sup> Moreover, the charge that his style is tinctured with gallicisms—"Frenchisms" Walpole himself called them, adding a new word, apparently, to the language—is too obvious to be overlooked. Macaulay's statement that he is "the most Frenchified writer"

<sup>67</sup> Letter 2535, To his Godson. The earliest quotation for it in the *NED* is dated 1656.

<sup>68</sup> Letter 1999, To Solomon Dayrolles.

<sup>69</sup> *The World*, No. 189 (August 12, 1756). Cf. Swift's use of the same word in *An Examination of Certain Abuses*.

<sup>70</sup> The *NED* notes that a Society of Dilettanti flourished in London about 1733. Chesterfield's use of the word is, however, the first recorded in literature. Among the Italian words, the first occurrence of which in English is attributed to Chesterfield are *sotto voce* and *concelto*.

<sup>71</sup> This may be due in part, however, to the greater bulk of his writing as well as to the character of his correspondence. Among the scores of words for which he is credited with a first citation in the *NED* are the following: *château*, *chef d'oeuvre*, *douceur*, *farouche*, *fête*, *grand air*, *mésalliance*, *migraine*, *monde*, *nuance*, *ormolu*, *raisonné*, *soubrette*, *souvenir*, *vignette*, *vis-à-vis*.

of the eighteenth century may be dismissed as a typical exaggeration, but the fact remains that in his own days his style was felt to be and is even today sometimes described as being palpably gallic.<sup>72</sup> Of this particular fault Chesterfield seems to be free. In fact, in many letters to his son he employs French words and phrases and proceeds immediately to translate them, even when the meaning is on the surface, into excellent idiomatic English.

A striking object of Chesterfield's criticism is the use of proverbs and aphorisms.

Proverbial expressions and trite sayings are the flowers and rhetoric of a vulgar man. Would he say that men differ in their tastes, he both supports and adorns that opinion by the good old saying, as he respectfully calls it, that *what is one man's meat is another man's poison*. . . . A man of fashion never has recourse to proverbs and vulgar aphorisms.<sup>73</sup>

In another letter the use of "old sayings and common proverbs" is described as proof adequate that the user had kept bad company.<sup>74</sup> Among the proverbs designated as "low" in Chesterfield's letters are: "one swallow makes no summer";<sup>75</sup> "take care of the pence, for the pounds will take care of themselves";<sup>76</sup> "good wine needs no bush";<sup>77</sup> "spoiling a hog for a halfpenny worth of tar";<sup>78</sup> "the difference between a cat in a hole and a cat out of a hole";<sup>79</sup> "mocking is catching";<sup>80</sup> and "to give one rope enough."<sup>81</sup>

On the other hand, Chesterfield at times avails himself freely of proverbs and popular sayings, some of which are hardly more refined or more distinguished in origin than those just cited; and he uses them without intimating that they are in any way objectionable. Among the proverbs employed in this way are: "two heads are better than one";<sup>82</sup> "drowning people catch at a straw";<sup>83</sup> "never put off till tomorrow what you can do today";<sup>84</sup> "tell me who [*sic*] you live with, and I'll tell you who you are."<sup>85</sup> Chesterfield's critical attitude toward the use of proverbs, an attitude characteristic of the period, arose from a hypersensitiveness to their simple, homespun

<sup>72</sup> For a discussion of Walpole's gallicisms see Paul Yvon, *Horace Walpole, Essai de Biographie Psychologique et Littéraire* (Caen, 1924), pp. 851-55. Cf. also the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, X, 283-84.

<sup>73</sup> Letter 1661.

<sup>74</sup> Letter 701.

<sup>75</sup> Letter 2578, To Mrs. Eugenia Stanhope.

<sup>76</sup> Letter 1454.

<sup>77</sup> Letter 1786.

<sup>78</sup> Letter 1876.

<sup>79</sup> Letter 1935, To the Bishop of Waterford.

<sup>80</sup> Letter 2431, To Alderman Faulkner.

<sup>81</sup> Letter 1994, To Lord Huntingdon.

<sup>82</sup> Letter 2440.

<sup>83</sup> Letter 2103, To the Duke of Newcastle.

<sup>84</sup> Letter 1689.

<sup>85</sup> Letter 2618, To his Godson. Chesterfield occasionally introduces French proverbs into his English letters, e.g., *l'appétit vient en mangeant* (Letter 1590), *le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle* (Letter 1700), etc.

quality, which was felt to be out of place in polished discourse.<sup>86</sup> It was this polished discourse, one must always bear in mind, with which Chesterfield was concerned exclusively. One may recall in this connection the ridicule which Swift heaps upon the users of similar proverbial material in *Polite Conversation* (1736). It was only toward the end of the century, as the result of the development of a more romantic attitude toward popular speech and folkways, that proverbs came to be regarded again in a more sympathetic light.

On the subject of grammatical usage Chesterfield's comments are few and unimportant. In one letter to his son he goes to considerable length to explain the difference in the use of the pronouns *who*, *what*, and *that*, and in the course of the explanation he emphasizes, as has been pointed out above, the importance of euphony in determining the choice of the pronoun.<sup>87</sup> In another letter he corrects his son's use of the preposition *with* in the sentence, "I accuse you *with* being. . . ."<sup>88</sup> In his own writing, however, Chesterfield exhibits the common eighteenth-century vacillation between the objective and nominative case of pronouns: "tell me *who* you live with";<sup>89</sup> "the lady *whom* you tell me is set out";<sup>90</sup> "between you and *I*."<sup>91</sup> The uncertainty of Chesterfield's practice in this matter provoked Walpole into observing that he found it very diverting to discover such irregularities in the speech of a person "who thought of nothing so much as the purity of his language."<sup>92</sup>

With this tribute to Chesterfield's linguistic zeal by a manifestly not too friendly critic we may well bring this paper to a close. The regularization of English usage and the emergence of an accepted standard were not, of course, the achievement of one man or of one period, but in the gradual evolution of this standard the theories and practices of the great literary figures of the eighteenth century played a determining part. Among these Chesterfield was certainly important.

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<sup>86</sup> W. G. Smith and Janet E. Heseltine, *The Oxford Book of English Proverbs* (Oxford, 1935), Introduction, p. xviii. Cf. also Archer Taylor, *The Proverb* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), p. 173.

<sup>87</sup> Letter 1801.

<sup>88</sup> Letter 675.

<sup>89</sup> Letter 2618, To his Godson.

<sup>90</sup> Letter 2043.

<sup>91</sup> Letter 2430, To the Bishop of Waterford.

<sup>92</sup> Letter to Mason, April 17, 1744. Helen W. Toynbee, *The Letters of Horace Walpole* (London, 1903-1905), VIII, 448.



## ENGLISH TREATMENT OF THE CLASSICAL-ROMANTIC PROBLEM

By HERBERT WEISINGER

It is, of course, a commonplace to point out that the Romantic era is the high-water mark in the appreciation of the Elizabethans, especially since the writers at that time were agreed among themselves that they were the first to understand the Elizabethans properly. Wordsworth is very critical of Johnson's *Lives*:

We open the volume of Prefatory Lives, and to our astonishment the *first* name we find is that of Cowley!—What is become of the morning-star of English Poetry? Where is the bright Elizabethan constellation? Or, if names be more acceptable than images, where is the ever-to-be-honoured Chaucer? Where is Spenser? where Sidney? and, lastly, where he, whose rights as a poet, contradistinguished from those which he is universally allowed to possess as a Dramatist, we have vindicated,—where Shakspeare?—These, and a multitude of others not unworthy to be placed near them, their contemporaries and successors, we have *not*. But in their stead, we have (could better be expected when precedence was to be settled by an abstract of reputation at any given period made, as in this case before us?) Roscommon, and Stepney, and Phillips, and Walsh, and Smith, and Duke, and King, and Spratt—Hali-fax, Granville, Sheffield, Congreve, Broome, and other reputed Magnates; metrical writers utterly worthless and useless, except for occasions like the present, when their productions are referred to as evidence what a small quantity of brain is necessary to procure a considerable stock of admiration, provided the aspirant will accommodate himself to the likings and fashions of his day.<sup>1</sup>

Wordsworth is as prejudiced in his way as those he accuses of bias, and he not only wrongs Johnson, but fails to take into account, just as Lamb and Coleridge and Hazlitt failed to acknowledge, first, the continuous tradition of appreciation of the Elizabethans, and second, the work of the scholars and bibliographers of the eighteenth century and of his own time without which a deepened appreciation of the Elizabethans would have been impossible.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, the pre-

<sup>1</sup> William Wordsworth, "Poetry as a Study," *Prose Works*, ed. A. B. Grosart (London, 1876), II, 124-25.

<sup>2</sup> See Francis S. Miller, "The Historic Sense of Thomas Warton, Junior," *ELH*, V (1938), 71-92, an article based on Dr. Miller's dissertation *The Historic Sense in Eighteenth Century English Literature* (The Johns Hopkins University, 1935); Clarissa Rinaker, "Thomas Warton and the Historical Method in Literary Criticism," *PMLA*, XXX (1915), 79-109; Odell Sheppard, "Thomas Warton and the Historical Point of View in Criticism," *JEGP*, XVI (1917), 153-63; David N. Smith, "Warton's History of English Poetry," *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, XV (1929), 73-99; Earl R. Wasserman, "The Scholarly Origin of the Elizabethan Revival," *ELH*, IV (1937), 213-43, based on Dr. Wasserman's dissertation, *The Elizabethan Revival: Its Background and Beginning* (The Johns Hopkins University, 1937); Herbert Weisinger, "The Seventeenth-Century Reputation of the Elizabethans," *MLQ*, VI (1945), 13-20; Robert D. Williams, "Antiquarian Interest in Elizabethan Drama before Lamb," *PMLA*, LIII (1938), 434-44, based on Dr. Williams' dissertation of the same name (University of Michigan, 1937).



vailing opinion was well expressed by T. Barnes when he said that "In the present age . . . the passion for ancient English literature has become almost epidemic."<sup>3</sup> Robinson reports that Tieck boasted that he had read every accessible printed drama before and contemporaneous with Shakespeare, and had come over to England to inspect manuscript copies and rare editions.

But when we inspect the justifications made at this time for the adulation of Elizabethan literature, we find them to be elaborate recastings of the same ideas which the eighteenth century first developed. This is true with but one exception, namely, that of the classical-romantic, or ancient-modern, discussion which, taken over from the Germans, occupied the attention of a small number of early but important nineteenth-century writers. The more conventional type of defense is to be found in greater numbers and among more varied writers. Scott's life of Dryden contains a mature appreciation of the writers who flourished during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, while Southey's *Select Works of the British Poets from Chaucer to Jonson* attempted to supply the deficiencies in Johnson's *Lives* noted by Wordsworth. Typical of the attitude taken towards the Elizabethans is Sir Egerton Brydges' statement in his *Imaginative Biography*:

But every thing concurred, in the Elizabethan æra, to give a vigour and a range to genius, to which neither prior nor subsequent times have been equally propitious. An heroic age, influenced with the discovery of new worlds, gave increased impulse to fancies enriched by access both to the recovered treasures of ancient literature, and the wild splendours of Italian fiction. A command of language equal to the great occasion was not wanting.<sup>4</sup>

According to Isaac Disraeli, it was in the age of Elizabeth that ". . . the English mind took its first bent; a new-born impulse in the nation everywhere was working out its religion, its legislation, and its literature. In every class of genius there existed nothing to copy; everything that was to be great was to find a beginning."<sup>5</sup> But the height of appreciation comes in the work of Francis Jeffrey:

The æra to which they belong, indeed, has always appeared to us by far the brightest in the history of English literature,—or indeed of human intellect and capacity. There never was, any where, any thing like the sixty or seventy years that elapsed from the middle of Elizabeth's reign to the period of the Restoration. In point of real force and originality of genius, neither the age of Pericles, nor the age of Augustus, nor the times of Leo X., nor of Louis XIV., can come at all into comparison. . . .<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> T. Barnes, "Stafford's Niobe," *The Reflector*, I (1810), 59.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Egerton Brydges, *Imaginative Biography* (London, 1834), II, 191. Cf. Thomas Zouch, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Sir Philip Sidney* (York, 1809), p. 9; Thomas De Quincey, "Homer and the Homerides," *Collected Writings*, ed. David Masson (Edinburgh, 1892), VI, 72; Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, ed. J. Shawcross (Oxford, 1907), II, 119.

<sup>5</sup> Isaac Disraeli, "Bacon," *Amenities of Literature*, ed. Benjamin Disraeli (London, 1859), II, 284.

<sup>6</sup> Francis Jeffrey, *Contributions to the Edinburgh Review* (New York, 1864), p. 299.

So far as I have been able to determine, the discussion of the differences between classical and romantic occurs in the work of Coleridge, Hazlitt, Scott, Robinson, and De Quincey, with the bulk of exposition centering in Coleridge and De Quincey. Considering the number of writers at work at this time, it is hard to understand why the idea was not treated more extensively, especially since it had the prestige of the major writers of the period behind it. For this reason, the importance of the classical-romantic debate must be estimated with considerable caution. The main question in the debate was how to determine the difference between ancient literature and modern productions, particularly between the two dramas. It is especially of interest because it comprises a smaller and much less known body of criticism which is of a higher critical and philosophical temper than the routine adulation of the Elizabethans. While the sources of the ideas to be considered are Continental, and especially German, in origin, the ideas themselves are of intrinsic interest, particularly since they were treated by the most important English writers of the period.

This discussion was of considerable philosophical significance because it raised the problem of what lines of demarcation could be set between the ancient and the modern world. Did the unique characteristics of the Elizabethan drama signify a new era in human history? If Elizabethan literature was a romantic literature as distinguished from the ancient or classical literature, what was the position of medieval romance; to which was it more closely allied? As we shall see, it was sometimes thought that Gothic and Elizabethan literature were alike considered modern literature in distinction from Greek and Roman work. For students of the Renaissance, this problem is of particular importance, for it raises the question of the chronological limitations of the Renaissance. The classical-romantic debate introduced yet another confusion into an already complicated and perplexing riddle: did the modern world emerge at the time of the Renaissance, or should the term "modern" be made to include the emergence of Christianity as a world force, thus pushing the concept of modernity deep into the Middle Ages? The romantics tended to deprive the Middle Ages of their historical separateness from the ancient and modern eras and to fuse them with the modern world in opposition to the ancient world; thus, only two historical periods are left, the classical and the romantic.

Under the entry dated January 29, 1811, in his diary, Henry Crabb Robinson reports the following conversation with Coleridge:

I walked with Coleridge to Richman's, where we dined. He talked on Shakespeare, particularly his Fools. These he regarded as supplying the place of the ancient chorus. The ancient drama, he observed, is distinguished from the Shakespearian in this, that it exhibits a sort of abstraction, not of character, but of idea. A certain sentiment or passion was exhibited in

all its purity, unmixed with anything that could interfere with its effect. Shakespeare, on the other hand, imitates life, mingled as we find it with joy and sorrow. We meet constantly in life with persons who are, as it were, unfeeling spectators of the most passionate situations. The Fool serves to supply the place of some such uninterested person, where all the other characters are interested.<sup>7</sup>

Coleridge makes another point of comparison between the ancient and modern stages in the first lecture of the 1813-14 series:

The Greeks were polytheists, their religion was local, the object of all their knowledge, science, and taste, was their gods; their productions were, therefore (if the expression may be allowed), *statuesque*. The moderns we may designate as *picturesque*; the end, complete harmony. The Greeks reared a structure, which, in its parts and as a whole, filled the mind with the calm and elevated impression of perfect beauty and symmetrical proportion. The moderns, blending materials, produced one striking whole. This may be illustrated by comparing the Pantheon with York Minster or Westminster Abbey. Upon the same scale we may compare Sophocles with Shakespeare: in the one there is a completeness, a satisfying, an excellence, on which the mind can rest; in the other we see a blended multitude of materials, great and little, magnificent and mean, mingled, if we may so say, with a dissatisfying, or falling short of perfection, yet so promising of our own progression, that we would not exchange it for that repose of mind which dwells on the forms of symmetry in acquiescent admiration of grace. This general characteristic of the ancient and modern poetry might be exemplified in a parallel of their ancient and modern music: the ancient music consisted of melody by the succession of pleasing sounds; the modern embraces harmony, the result of combination and effect of the whole.<sup>8</sup>

In the tenth lecture of the 1818 series, on Dante, Coleridge adds yet another element to the catalogue of differences:

In studying Dante, therefore, we must consider carefully the differences produced, first, by allegory being substituted for polytheism; and secondly and mainly, by the opposition of Christianity to the spirit of pagan Greece, which receiving the very names of its gods from Egypt, soon deprived them of all that was universal. The Greeks changed the ideas into finites, and these finites into *anthropomorphi*, or forms of men. Hence, their religion, their poetry, nay, their very pictures, became statuesque. With them the form was the end. The reverse of this was the natural effect of Christianity; in which finites, even the human form, must, in order to satisfy the mind, be brought into connexion with, and be in fact symbolical of, the infinite; and must be considered in some enduring, however shadowy and indistinct, point of view, as the vehicle or representative of moral truth.

<sup>7</sup> Henry Crabb Robinson, *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence*, ed. Thomas Sadler (London, 1869), I, 320-21.

<sup>8</sup> Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Shakespearean Criticism*, ed. Thomas M. Raysor (Cambridge, Mass., 1930), II, 262-63. Cf. the passage in the first volume, p. 222: "Ancients, statuesque; moderns, picturesque. Ancients, rhythm and melody; moderns, harmony. Ancients, the finite, and therefore, grace, elegance, proportion, fancy, dignity, majesty,—whatever is capable of being definitely conveyed by defined forms or thoughts. The moderns, the infinite and [the] indefinite as the vehicle of the infinite; hence, more [devoted] to the passions, the obscure hopes and fears—the wandering thro' [the] infinite, grander moral feelings, more august conceptions of man as man, the future rather than the present,—sublimity."

Hence resulted two great effects; a combination of poetry with doctrine, and, by turning the mind inward on its own essence instead of letting it act only on its outward circumstances and communities, a combination of poetry with sentiment. And it is this inwardness or subjectivity, which principally and most fundamentally distinguishes all the classic from all the modern poetry.

Coleridge then compares verses 119-236 of the sixth book of the *Iliad* with stanzas 20-22 of the first book of the *Orlando Furioso* and points out that Ariosto's own feelings are more important to him than the story he is telling; Homer, because of his classical impersonality, does not comment. Coleridge continues:

The two different modes in which the imagination is acted on by the ancient and modern poetry, may be illustrated by the parallel effects caused by the contemplation of the Greek or Roman-Greek architecture, compared with the Gothic. In the Pantheon, the whole is perceived in a perceived harmony with the parts which compose it; and generally you will remember that where the parts preserve any distinct individuality, there simple beauty, or beauty simply, arises; but where the parts melt undistinguished into the whole, there majestic beauty, or majesty, is the result. In York Minster, the parts, the grotesques, are in themselves very sharply distinct and separate, and this distinction and separation of the parts is counterbalanced only by the multitude and variety of those parts, by which the attention is bewildered;—whilst the whole, or that there is a whole produced, is altogether a feeling in which the several thousand distinct impressions lose themselves as in a universal solvent. Hence in a Gothic cathedral, as in a prospect from a mountain's top, there is, indeed, a unity, an awful oneness;—but it is, because all distinction evades the eye. And just such is the distinction between the Antigone of Sophocles and the Hamlet of Shakespeare.<sup>9</sup>

Note that in this passage Coleridge has identified the medieval with the modern, while in his *Table Talk* for August 18, 1833, he pushes the separating lines even farther back:

Claudian deserves more attention than is generally paid to him. He is the link between the old classic and the modern way of thinking in verse. You will observe in him an oscillation between the objective poetry of the ancients and the subjective mood of the moderns. His power of pleasingly reproducing the same thought in different language is remarkable, as it is in Pope. Read particularly the Phoenix, and see how the single image of renascence is varied.<sup>10</sup>

Finally, in a passage on classical and romantic drama, Coleridge links these terms to ancient and modern:

. . . I have named the true genuine modern poetry the romantic; and the works of Shakespeare are romantic poetry revealing itself in the drama. If the tragedies of Sophocles are in the strict sense of the word tragedies, and the comedies of Aristophanes comedies, we must emancipate ourselves of a false association from misapplied names, and find a new word for the plays of Shakespeare. They are in the ancient sense neither tragedies nor comedies,

<sup>9</sup> Coleridge, *Miscellaneous Criticism*, ed. Thomas M. Raysor (Cambridge, Mass., 1930), pp. 148-50.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 426.

nor both in one, but a different genus, diverse in kind, not merely different in degree,—romantic dramas, or dramatic romances. And even a recurrence to my recent explanation of Romance would make a presentiment that the deviation from the simple forms and unities of the ancient stage is an essential principle and, of course, an appropriate excellence, of the romantic; that these unities are to a great extent the natural form of that which in its elements was homogeneous, and its representation addressed eminently to the outward senses; and tho' both fable, language and characters appealed to the reason rather than the mere understanding, inasmuch as they supposed an ideal state rather than referred to an existing reality, yet it was a reason which must strictly accommodate itself to the senses, and so far became a sort of more elevated understanding. On the other [hand], the romantic poetry, the Shakespearian drama, appealed to the imagination rather than to the senses, and to the reason as contemplating our inward nature, the workings of the passions in their most retired recesses. But the reason, as reason, is independent of time and space; it has nothing to do with them. Hence the certainties of reason have been called *eternal truths*; *ex. gr.*, the endless properties of the circle—what connection have they with this or that age, this or that country?—The reason is aloof from time and space; the imagination [has] an arbitrary control over both; and if only the poet have such power of exciting our internal emotions as to make us present to the scene in imagination chiefly, he acquires the right and privilege of using time and space as they exist in the imagination, obedient only to the laws which the imagination acts by. These laws it will be our object and aim to point out as the examples recur which illustrate them; but once more let me repeat what can never be too often reflected on by all who would intelligently study the works either of the Athenian dramatists or of Shakespeare—that the very essence of the former consists in the sternest separation of the diverse in kind; the latter delights [in variety?].<sup>11</sup>

In summary, then, Coleridge points out that modern literature is distinguished for its realism, its picturesque qualities, its diversity and complexity, its striving towards the infinite, its subjectivity, and its imagination; these are characteristics of the literature and art of the medieval era as well as of the work of modern poets and artists. This suggests that in Coleridge's mind the transition between the ancient and the modern world took place with the introduction of Christianity, which possesses the features noted above.

Hazlitt definitely acknowledges the influence of the Germans in his discussion of the classical and romantic, while he follows Coleridge in comparing the ancient drama to ancient architecture and Shakespearian drama to Westminster Abbey. According to Hazlitt, antique or classical drama (the synonyms are Hazlitt's) is characterized by naturalness, dignity, selection, and unity. On the other hand, the Gothic or romantic (again, the synonyms are Hazlitt's) has a larger design and boldness, is freed from a close connection with time and space, and has range and variety in the language; this is typical of Shakespearian drama. He continues:

<sup>11</sup> *Shakespearian Criticism*, I, 197-98. I have not tried to identify German borrowings; this has been done fully by Professor Raysor, who has also demonstrated Coleridge's technique of source adaptation as well as his reasons for such close borrowings.

Sophocles differs from Shakespear as a Doric portico does from Westminster Abbey. The principle of the one is simplicity and harmony, of the other richness and power. The one relies on form or proportion, the other on quantity and variety and prominence of parts. The one owes its charm to a certain union and regularity of feeling, the other adds to its effects from complexity and the combination of the greatest extremes. The classical appeals to sense and habit: the Gothic or romantic strikes from novelty, strangeness and contrast. Both are founded in essential and indestructible principles of human nature. We may prefer the one to the other, as we chuse, but to set up an arbitrary and bigotted standard of excellence in consequence of this preference, and to exclude either one or the other from poetry or art, is to deny the existence of the first principles of the human mind, and to war with nature, which is the height of weakness and arrogance at once.<sup>12</sup>

However, Hazlitt's most extensive contribution to the discussion of the difference between the classical and romantic was made in the *Edinburgh Review* for February, 1816, in an article entitled "Schlegel on the Drama." "The most obvious distinction between the two styles, the classical and the romantic," he writes,

is, that the one is conversant with objects that are grand or beautiful in themselves, or in consequence of obvious and universal associations; the other, with those that are interesting only by the force of circumstances and imagination. A Grecian temple, for instance, is a classical object: it is beautiful in itself, and excites immediate admiration. But the ruins of a Gothic castle have no beauty or symmetry to attract the eye; and yet they excite a more powerful and romantic interest from the ideas with which they are habitually associated. If, in addition to this, we are told that this is Macbeth's castle, the scene of the murder of Duncan, the interest will be instantly heightened to a sort of pleasing horror. The classical idea or form of any thing, it may also be observed, remains always the same, and suggests nearly the same impressions; but the association of ideas belonging to the romantic character, may vary infinitely, and take in the whole range of nature and accident.

Hazlitt then instances Antigone waiting near the grove of the Furies and Electra offering sacrifice at the tomb of Agamemnon as examples of the classical temper, while Florimel sitting on the ground in the Witch's hut, Othello's handkerchief, and Lear are examples of the romantic spirit; also, he contrasts in some detail the different characteristics of the Furies of Aeschylus and the Witches of Shakespeare. He shows how like Greek poetry and sculpture are: they are exquisite imitations of nature, and are perfect ideas of the subjects described. But in the details of representation and in the vividness of depiction, the ancient poet was inferior to the sculptor, though the modern poet does not admit this deficiency.

The ideas of the ancients were too exact and definite, too much attached to the material form or vehicle in which they were conveyed, to admit of those rapid combinations, those unrestrained flights of fancy, which, glancing from heaven to earth, unite the most opposite extremes, and draw the happiest illustrations from things the most remote. The two principles of imitation and

<sup>12</sup> William Hazlitt, *Complete Works*, ed. P. P. Howe (London, 1930-34), VI, 347-48.



imagination indeed, are not only distinct, but almost opposite. For the imagination is that power which represents objects, not as they are, but as they are moulded according to our fancies and feelings. Let an object be presented to the senses in a state of agitation and fear—and the imagination will magnify the object, and convert it into whatever is most proper to encourage the fear. It is the same in all other cases in which poetry speaks the language of the imagination. This language is not the less true to nature because it is false in point of fact; but so much the more true and natural, if it conveys the impression which the object under the influence of passion makes on the mind. . . .

The great difference, then, which we find between the classical and the romantic style, between ancient and modern poetry, is, that the one more frequently describes things as they are interesting in themselves,—the other for the sake of the associations of ideas connected with them; that the one dwells more on the immediate impressions of objects on the senses—the other on the ideas which they suggest to the imagination. The one is the poetry of form, the other of effect. The one gives only what is necessarily implied in the subject; the other all that can possibly arise out of it. The one seeks to identify the imitation with an external object,—clings to it,—is inseparable from it,—is either that or nothing; the other seeks to identify the original impression with whatever else, within the range of thought or feeling, can strengthen, relieve, adorn or elevate it. Hence the severity and simplicity of the Greek tragedy, which excluded everything foreign or unnecessary to the subject. Hence the unities: for, in order to identify the imitation as much as possible with the reality, and leave nothing to mere imagination, it was necessary to give the same coherence and consistency to the different parts of a story, as to the different limbs of a statue. Hence the beauty and grandeur of their materials; for, deriving their power over the mind from the truth of the imitation, it was necessary that the subject which they made choice of, and from which they could not depart, should be in itself grand and beautiful. Hence the perfection of their execution; which consisted in giving the utmost harmony, delicacy, and refinement to the details of a given subject. Now, the characteristic excellence of the moderns is the reverse of all this. As, according to our author, the poetry of the Greeks is the same as their sculpture; so, he says, our own more nearly resembles painting,—where the artist can relieve and throw back his figures at pleasure,—use a greater variety of contrasts,—and where light and shade, like the colours of fancy, are reflected on the different objects. The Muse of classical poetry should be represented as a beautiful naked figure: the Muse of modern poetry should be represented clothed, and with wings. The first has the advantage in point of form; the last in colour and motion.

Hazlitt thinks these differences may be traced to the differences in physical organization, situation, religion, and manners. The Greeks were in tune with nature; the stern aspects of the North drove men into introspection. The Greeks lived in harmony with each other; in the ages of chivalry and romance, the bonds were loosed and men were free to range at will, both on earth and in the mind, while this freedom, combined with Christianity, led to the freedom of the sexes, and hence the spirit of chivalry, romantic love, and honor. The pagan religion was material and definite; the Christian religion, spiritual and abstract. The Greeks were circumscribed by the bounds of their language, customs, and history; the moderns have the advan-



tage of time, history, and greater information.<sup>13</sup> Hazlitt's article affords a convenient summary of the ideas of the romantics on the differences between the classical and romantic poets.

Scott points out that the use of the passion of love distinguishes the modern drama from the ancient, while Robinson adds the words objective and subjective to the discussion, the first having reference to the ancient literature, the other to the modern.<sup>14</sup> De Quincey's writings on the subject under consideration are extensive and, at the same time, keen and subtle. In his autobiography, which appeared in *Tait's Magazine*, he writes that while he was at Oxford he read Greek and Elizabethan tragedy ". . . and, without having read a line of German at that time, or knowing of any such controversy, I began to meditate on the elementary grounds of difference between the Pagan and the Christian forms of poetry." He adds that the dispute between the classical and romantic has been carried on in France and in Germany but without advancing it a step. He continues:

The shape into which I threw the question it may be well to state; because I am persuaded that out of that one idea, properly pursued, might be evolved the whole separate characteristics of the Christian and the Antique. Why is it, I asked, that the Christian idea of *sin* is an idea utterly unknown to the Pagan mind? The Greeks and the Romans had a clear conception of a moral ideal, as we have; but this they estimated by a reference to the will; and they called it virtue, and the antithesis they called vice. The *lâcheté* or relaxed energy of the will, by which it yielded to the seductions of sensual pleasure, that was vice; and the braced-up tone by which it resisted these seductions was virtue. But the idea of holiness, and the antithetic idea of sin, as a violation of the awful and unimaginable sanctity, was so utterly undeveloped in the Pagan mind, that no word exists in classical Greek or classical Latin which approaches either pole of this synthesis; neither the idea of *holiness*, nor of its correlate, *sin*, could be so expressed in Latin as at once to satisfy Cicero and a scientific Christian. Again (but this was some years after), I found Schiller and Goethe applauding the better taste of the ancients, in symbolizing the idea of death by a beautiful youth, with a torch inverted, etc., as compared with the Christian types of a skeleton and hour-glasses, etc. And much surprised I was to hear Mr. Coleridge approving of this German sentiment. Yet, here again, I felt, the peculiar genius of Christianity was covertly at work moving upon a different road, and under opposite ideas, to a

<sup>13</sup> Hazlitt, *op. cit.*, XVI, 61-66.

<sup>14</sup> Walter Scott, "An Essay on the Drama First Published in the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica," *Miscellaneous Prose Works* (Edinburgh, 1848), VI, 243; Henry Crabb Robinson as cited in John M. Baker, *Henry Crabb Robinson of Bury, Jena, "The Times," and Russell Square* (London, 1937), pp. 210-11. In a very interesting letter to John Hamilton Reynolds, dated February 3, 1818, Keats severely condemns the modern tendency toward subjectivity and introspection. *Letters of John Keats*, ed. Maurice B. Forman (Oxford, 1935), I, 96: "Poetry should be great and unobtrusive, a thing which enters into one's soul, and does not startle it or amaze it with itself, but with its subject.—How beautiful are the retired flowers! how would they lose their beauty were they to throng into the highway crying out, 'admire me I am a violet!—dote upon me I am a primrose!'" He calls modern poetry the result of the whims of an egoist who broods and peacocks over his speculations.

just result, in which the harsh and austere expression yet pointed to a dark reality, whilst the beautiful Greek adumbration was, in fact, a veil and a disguise. The corruptions and the other 'dishonours' of the grave, and whatsoever composes the sting of death in the Christian view, is traced up to sin as its ultimate cause. Hence, besides the expression of Christian humility, in thus nakedly exhibiting the wrecks and ruins made by sin, there is also a latent profession indicated of Christian hope. For the Christian contemplates steadfastly, though with trembling awe, the lowest point of his descent; since, for him, that point, the last of his fall, is also the first of his re-ascent, and serves, besides, as an exponent of its infinity; the infinite depth becoming, in the rebound, a measure of the infinite re-ascent. Whereas, on the contrary, with the gloomy uncertainties of a Pagan on the question of his final restoration, and also (which must not be overlooked) with his utter perplexity as to the nature of his restoration, if any were by accident in reserve, whether in a condition tending downwards or upwards, it was the natural resource to consult the general feeling of anxiety and distrust, by throwing a thick curtain and a veil of beauty over the whole too painful subject. To place the horrors in high relief could here have answered no purpose but that of wanton cruelty; whereas, with the Christian hopes, the very saddest memorials of the havocks made by death are antagonist prefigurations of great victories in the rear.

These speculations, at that time, I pursued earnestly; and I then believed myself, as I yet do, to have ascertained the two great and opposite laws under which the Grecian and the English tragedy has each separately developed itself. Whether wrong or right in that belief, sure I am that those in Germany who have treated the case of Classical and Romantic are not entitled to credit for any discovery at all. The Schlegels, who were the hollowest of men, the windiest and wordiest (at least, Frederick was so), pointed to the distinction; barely indicated it; and that was already some service done, because a presumption arose that the antique and the modern literatures, having clearly some essential differences, might, perhaps, rest on foundations originally distinct, and obey different laws. And hence it occurred that many disputes, as about the unities, etc., might originate in a confusion of these laws. This checks the presumption of the shallow criticism, and points to deeper investigations. Beyond this, neither the German nor the French disputers on the subject have talked to any profitable purpose.<sup>18</sup>

De Quincey pursued these speculations in considerable detail, especially the problem of sin as it affected tragedy. In "A Brief Appraisal of the Greek Literature in its Foremost Pretensions" which appeared in *Tait's* for December, 1838, he makes the conventional distinction between the picturesque and statuesque, but adds to this terminology two striking words, life, which is the mark of English drama, and death, which is the mark of classical drama. Dr. Johnson came in for severe criticism in an article on the "Philosophy of Herodotus" which appeared in *Blackwood's* for January, 1842. Dr. Johnson had said that all the plots of modern literature ultimately derived from Homer; De Quincey argued that in the first place the Greeks insisted that all their literature be based on previously known tales, and in the second place and more significantly, modern literature is based on Christianity as well as on differences in sentiment, usages, and man-

<sup>18</sup> De Quincey, *Collected Writings*, II, 72-74.

ners. The essay titled "The Theban Sphinx" which appeared in *Hogg's Instructor* for 1849 takes up once more the importance of the idea of sin.

The posthumous works of De Quincey are full of passages relating to the classical-romantic discussion, and all insist on the decisive importance of sin in establishing the difference between the two literatures. The essay "Why the Pagans could not Invest their Gods with any Iota of Grandeur" adds another deficiency to the Greek mythology, namely, the absence of any real idea of immortality; the paper on "'What is Truth?' The Jestling Pilate Said—A False Gloss" shows that the reason Christianity made so many converts among the upper-class Romans was that it offered a system of morality based on sin and immortality. These ideas are elaborated on in "Brevia: Short Essays (In Connection with Each Other)," notably numbers one, four, and nine. De Quincey illustrates the danger the classical-romantic debate ran into, for, starting with specific pieces of literature, the discussion became more and more speculative and at the same time farther removed from the point.

It would be tempting to ascribe more significance to the classical-romantic debate than it actually deserves. For one thing, while it is true that some of the most important figures in the early nineteenth century participated in the debate, it occupies a relatively small part in the bulk of their collected writings; a possible exception might be made in the case of Coleridge, who links the debate to other more significant aspects of his thinking. A second point to be borne in mind is that aside from the material just considered, there is a complete silence on the subject in the writings of Coleridge's, Hazlitt's, and De Quincey's contemporaries. This silence may be the result either of a lack of interest in the discussion or of an active dislike of it. Byron's letter to Murray dated October 17, 1820, would indicate that the latter supposition is perhaps the more accurate:

P. S.—I perceive that in Germany, as well as in Italy, there is a great struggle about what they call 'Classical' and 'Romantic,'—terms which were not subjects of classification in England, at least when I left four or five years ago. Some of the English Scribblers, it is true, abused Pope and Swift, but the reason was that they themselves did not know how to write either prose or verse; but nobody thought them worth making a sect of. Perhaps there may be something of the kind sprung up lately, but I have not heard much about it, and it would be such bad taste that I shall be very sorry to believe it.<sup>16</sup>

Nevertheless, the classical-romantic debate is of no small historical significance, for it expanded the concept of the word "modern" and helped in the development of a more philosophical technique for the writing of intellectual history. The easy periodization of history

<sup>16</sup> Lord Byron, *Works*, ed. E. H. Coleridge and R. E. Protheroe (London, 1898-1901), IV, 342.

into ancient, medieval, and modern breaks down under the attack of the romantics to whom simple chronology was secondary to the relationships of ideas and beliefs. If contemporary historiography does not accept the romantic view, it yet owes some of its sophistication to the enterprise of the romantics who looked for ideological and spiritual landmarks by which the course of history might be charted.

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## THE PARADOX OF FRANCIS JEFFREY: REASON VERSUS SENSIBILITY

By J. RAYMOND DERBY

Jeffrey's identifiable reviews and surviving letters reveal inconsistencies that suggest conflict between his native sensibility and his reason. His emphasis upon analysis and common sense, his dogmatic acceptance and enforcement of "rules," his habit of arraigning an author like a prisoner at the bar, his negative cast of mind, and his magisterial manner have been pointed out repeatedly. His sensibility and a restricted romantic bent are, however, less well known.

Evidences of these are found in his early correspondence. On October 25, 1791, writing from Oxford, he confided to his sister, Mary:

I feel I shall never be a great man, unless it be as a poet; for, though I have a boundless ambition, I am too much the slave of my heart. If I were calmly reposed on the bosom of felicity, I would not leave my family to enjoy a triumph.<sup>1</sup>

A few days later he wrote, "Whence arises my affection for the moon? . . . She is the companion of my melancholy, and the witness of my happiness." He added that happiness appeared to be elusive and spontaneous.<sup>2</sup> On March 2, 1794, after telling his brother John about the dullness of his law studies, he stated that he had been aroused from torpor by the approach of spring, with "the rustling of the western gales, and the buds, and the sun, and the showers," concluding, "Every day I see greater reason for believing that this romantic temper will never depart from me now."<sup>3</sup> By 1798, however, Jeffrey felt that he was being perverted by the exigencies of making a living at the law; he complained,

I lose all my originalities, and ecstasies, and romances, and am far advanced already upon that dirty highway called the way of the world. . . . This at least I am sure of, that the poetic visions bestowed a much purer and more tranquil happiness than can be found in any of the tumultuous and pedantic triumphs that seem now within my reach; and that I was more amiable, and quite as respectable, before this change took place in my character. . . . I am still capable, I feel, of going back to these feelings, and would seek my happiness, I think, in their indulgence, if my circumstances would let me.<sup>4</sup>

Though Jeffrey at the age of twenty-five thus believed that his character had begun to change, there is ample evidence that he never

<sup>1</sup> Henry Cockburn, *Life of Lord Jeffrey*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1852), II, 4-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 5, in a letter to Mary Jeffrey dated November 2, 1791.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 15-16.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 34-35, in a letter to his cousin and crony, Robert Morehead, August 6, 1798.

lost his fundamental sensibility and romantic bent. His biographer, Lord Cockburn, generalizes thus:

One of the poetical qualities—a taste for the beauties and the sublimities of nature—he certainly possessed in an eminent degree . . . not for the mere exercise of watching striking appearances, but for the enjoyment of the feelings with which they were connected.<sup>5</sup>

Walter Scott pointed out anonymously in the *Annual Register* for 1809 that Jeffrey was particularly susceptible to "subjects of pathos, bearing immediate reference to domestic feelings and affections."<sup>6</sup> The next year one of Jeffrey's close acquaintances, the shrewd Mrs. Anne Grant of Laggan, commented,

I know no one of more domestic habits, nor any one to whom all the charities of home and kindred seem more endeared. If the world were not full of inconsistency, I would say it was almost impossible to reconcile the asperity of his criticisms with the general kindness of his disposition.<sup>7</sup>

Mrs. Grant here puts her finger upon one of Jeffrey's central traits, the contrast between his personal sensibility and his critical manner and attitude, based upon common sense, reason, and a magisterial treatment of the author as a defendant against whom the "laws" of literature were to be enforced by the critic. On the one hand is Jeffrey's severe tone toward Scott's antiquarianism, Southey's diffuseness, and Wordsworth's unintelligibility; on the other are numerous revelations of an emotional attitude toward the simple virtues and the beauties of nature. Contrast Lockhart's statements in 1818 and 1819 that Jeffrey was deficient in feeling,<sup>8</sup> with Jeffrey's subsequent declaration in the *Edinburgh Review* that John Wilson's *Trials of Margaret Lyndsay* (Edinburgh, 1823) had caused him to shed more tears than any other book reviewed by him.<sup>9</sup> Contrast his notorious "This will never do" with Thomas Moore's diary entry for November 8, 1825, in which he declares that after singing "There's a Song of the Olden Time" at Jeffrey's country home, Craigcrook, he had more than once seen his host's eyes filled with tears.<sup>10</sup>

Waiving Jeffrey's critical manner, which is generally known, let us examine his declarations upon typical romantic attitudes and leading romantic doctrines involving sensibility either directly or in-

<sup>5</sup> Cockburn, *op. cit.*, I, 72-73. Italics mine.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, Part II, 572-73.

<sup>7</sup> *Memoir and Correspondence of Mrs. Grant of Laggan*, ed. J. P. Grant, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (London, 1845), I, 252, in a letter to Miss C. M. Fanshawe, October 6, 1810.

<sup>8</sup> *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, III (June, 1818), 304; *Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk*, "2d" ed., 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1819), II, 77.

<sup>9</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, XXXIX (October, 1823), 189.

<sup>10</sup> *Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence of Thomas Moore*, ed. Lord John Russell, 8 vols. (London, 1853), V, 11. Cf. other evidences of sensibility: Cockburn, *op. cit.*, II, 292-93, 406; John Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens* (Philadelphia, 1873), II, 358 n.; Lady Holland, *A Memoir of the Rev. Sydney Smith* (London, 1869), 263.

directly, to determine whether there are evidences of conflict between reason and sensibility, with resultant contradictions or inconsistencies.

In principle, if not in his own practice, Jeffrey demanded that the emotions be held in restraint or at least in moderation. He frowned upon "the Methodistical raptures and dissertations" in certain letters reprinted in William Hayley's *Life and Posthumous Writings of William Cowper* (Chichester, 1803).<sup>11</sup> A pamphlet on the abolition of the slave trade pleased him because it exhibited "none of that sentimental rant and sonorous philanthropy by which the cause of humanity has been so often exposed to ridicule."<sup>12</sup> Though he approved of the moral soundness of Miss Edgeworth's *Leonora* (London, 1806), he disliked its "excessive sensibility," which, he observed, had sunk to the low levels of society.<sup>13</sup> Like Sydney Smith, he opposed the "delirium" and "extravagances" of Methodism.<sup>14</sup> Writing to Thomas Moore in 1814, he asked for "a good smart German reviewer . . . one who knows that literature thoroughly, without thinking it necessary to rave about it."<sup>15</sup> Jeffrey's quarrel was not with sensibility *per se* but with indecent excess of feeling.<sup>16</sup>

Though Jeffrey admired Rousseau's "eloquent expression of fine sentiments and exalted passion,"<sup>17</sup> and his "magical eloquence,"<sup>18</sup> the critic declared his sensibility "distempered" and his principles "presumptuous," "antisocial," and possessing "a necessary tendency to do harm."<sup>19</sup> Jeffrey's reason could not approve such concepts as "natural goodness" or the "beautiful soul" or the "new morality," which tended to shift moral responsibility from the individual to society. He attacked the Lake poets' apparent acceptance of this doctrine:

For all sorts of vice and profligacy in the lower orders of society, they have the same virtuous horror, and the same tender compassion. While the existence of these offences overpowers them with grief and confusion, they never permit themselves to feel the smallest indignation or dislike towards the

<sup>11</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, II (April, 1803), 68.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, IV (July, 1804), 477.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII (April, 1806), 207.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, XIV (April, 1809), 83.

<sup>15</sup> Moore's *Memoirs*, II, 43.

<sup>16</sup> Jeffrey had a broad humanitarian outlook. He opposed the partition of Poland, *Edinburgh Review*, II (April, 1803), 15; uncompromisingly advocated the abolition of slavery, IV (July, 1804), 486; believed peace inevitably good and war inevitably bad, X (April, 1807), 26; argued vigorously for Catholic emancipation, XI (October, 1807), 116 ff.; wished to see the living conditions of Scottish peasants improved, XII (July, 1808), 410; urged prison reform, XXX (September, 1818), 463 ff.; and contributed generously and regularly to many welfare agencies and enterprises as recorded in their reports, too numerous to enter here.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, V (October, 1804), 24.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, XV (January, 1810), 275.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, I (October, 1802), 11, 64.



offenders. The present vicious constitution of society alone is responsible for all these enormities: the poor sinners are but the helpless victims or instruments of its disorders, and could not possibly have avoided the errors into which they have been betrayed. Though they can bear with crimes, therefore, they cannot reconcile themselves to punishments; and have an unconquerable antipathy to prisons, gibbets, and houses of correction, as engines of oppression, and instruments of atrocious injustice.

Such a social attitude was to Jeffrey a result of poor logic and "false sentiment." "Wealth," he asserted, "is just as valid an excuse for the one class of vices, as indigence is for the other."<sup>20</sup>

With another potent romantic theory, the idea of progress, Jeffrey was in equally acute disagreement. Although he believed that taste improves as the "inner circle" of the "select few" widens,<sup>21</sup> he did not believe that there is commensurate improvement in morality, social conditions, happiness, and human nature generally. In fact, Jeffrey subscribed not at all to the theory of progress, which he attacked in his review of Mme de Staël's *De la Littérature*<sup>22</sup> as her "splendid illusion" of perfectibility. He sought to discredit this by reasoning that the basic causes of human misery will continue despite an increase in the average intelligence; that wars will probably become even more frequent; that the luxury, dissipation, and general selfishness incident to wealth will increase; that enthusiasm, originality, and intellectual and artistic initiative will be more or less stifled; and that under the domination of capitalistic industry the laborer's life will become more sordid and impoverished. This opinion, first published in 1813, remained unchanged thirty years later, when, in editing the de Staël article for his *Contributions to the Edinburgh Review*, Jeffrey added a note saying that he still thought his "general discussion on Perfectibility . . . satisfactorily conducted."<sup>23</sup>

Jeffrey reasoned also against the romantic conception of original genius. He denied the Lake poets originality of genius, calling them "dissenters from the established systems in poetry and criticism."<sup>24</sup> In Burns he pointed out as faults "the undisciplined harshness and acrimony of his invective," "want of polish, or at least of respectfulness, in the general tone of his gallantry," and, worst of all,

. . . his contempt, or affectation of contempt, for prudence, decency and regularity; and his admiration of thoughtlessness, oddity, and vehement sensibility;—his belief, in short, in the dispensing power of genius and social feeling, in all matters of morality and common sense.<sup>25</sup>

Jeffrey's analysis of Burns's faults makes it clear that he did not admire the emotional expansiveness and "lawlessness" which original geniuses and their followers prized. Consequently, although he

<sup>20</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, I (October, 1802), 71-72. Cf. XV (January, 1810), 293.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, XVI (August, 1810), 266.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, XXI (February, 1813), 11 ff.

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.*, 4 vols. (London, 1844), I, 79 n.

<sup>24</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, I (October, 1802), 63.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII (January, 1809), 252-53.

often praised original genius, he did not refer to those qualities which the romanticists thought most distinctive thereof. What Jeffrey meant by "original genius" he stated for himself: vigor, fancy, humor, pathos, descriptive and characterizing power, facility and grace of composition, genuine inspiration.<sup>26</sup> But these are not the attributes upon which, in Jeffrey's opinion, the original genius of the romantic period prided himself: namely, emotional expansiveness, lawlessness, and the Titanic pose.<sup>27</sup>

To romantic escapism Jeffrey made limited concessions. Poetry charms the reader, he said, by exhibiting "the newest and most extraordinary objects" and "the most remote or fabulous transactions."<sup>28</sup> He found something piquant in the novelty of misanthropy and scorn in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Cantos I and II, although he did not genuinely approve of those qualities.<sup>29</sup> The Elizabethan drama won his praise by offering a "new and yet familiar picture of life and manners,"<sup>30</sup> whereby he appeared to sanction a novelty which does not depart from the actual. His comment on *Waverley* proceeded from the same point of view. Scott chose "such realities as may outshine the bright imaginations of the inventive," and demonstrated that, "in our own country, and almost in our own age, manners and characters existed, and were conspicuous, which we had been accustomed to consider as belonging to remote antiquity, or extravagant romance."<sup>31</sup> Thus the novelty which Jeffrey enjoyed was not of the extreme romantic type, remote from actual experience, but a novelty based upon the actual.

This inference is reinforced by his earliest recorded declaration on romantic wonder and admiration of the marvelous. "We know very well," he stated, "that poetry does not describe what is ordinary; but the marvellous, in which it is *privileged to indulge*, is the marvellous of *performance*, and not of accident."<sup>32</sup> Such marvels are not, then, to be accidental or arbitrary, but to proceed from "performance," which finds its motive in character; the intended antithesis is between the real or probable and the unreal or improbable; moreover, even such marvels are a "privilege" or "indulgence" for poetry. Certainly Jeffrey was not here surrendering to romantic wonder. A year later he announced his position unmistakably when he objected to wonder on the associative basis, declaring that the pleasure which comes from wonder or a sense of novelty is not the highest delight of poetry. Romantic wonder or novelty, he thought, is *for the moment* more effective than are universal associations; but the latter

<sup>26</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, II (April, 1803), 81-84.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Jeffrey's successive reviews of Byron.

<sup>28</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, XVIII (August, 1811), 380.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX (February, 1812), 467.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, XX (July, 1812), 204.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV (November, 1814), 208-09.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, XII (April, 1808), 9. Italics mine.

have the greater ultimate effect, which is lasting, not momentary. Romantic wonder is thus subordinated to the reality of the universal.<sup>33</sup>

Nevertheless, Jeffrey acknowledged the aesthetic value of such imaginative escape as may be effected by poetry descriptive of rural scenes and rural life, whereby is created "a pleasing illusion of the imagination, that carries us back to the golden age of the poets, and soothes us into a temporary forgetfulness of all the vice and the artifice, the cares and perplexities, of real life."<sup>34</sup> This aesthetic escape is not to become dominant, but to produce "a temporary forgetfulness" of ugly realities in favor of beautiful imaginings. There is nothing unwholesomely subjective here, and there is a restraint and sense of proportion lacking in the extreme romanticists who vainly sought permanent elimination of the usual by physical escape to the primitive or fanciful escape into a dream world.<sup>35</sup> Jeffrey was merely stating a fact recognized by every lover of poetry. He was neither morbid nor antisocial.

Toward primitivism Jeffrey was not unsympathetic, for he romantically glorified the morality of contemporary primitive peoples. He took a somewhat sentimental attitude toward the natives of Loo-Choo<sup>36</sup> and the uncorrupted savages that Washington Irving would have us believe Columbus found in America. In picturing the morality of the aborigines, and lamenting their enslavement and extermination by the white man, Jeffrey came very near to the tradition of the noble savage:

Affectionate, sociable, and without cunning, sullenness, inconstancy, or any of the savage vices, but with an aversion from toil, which their happy climate at once inspired and rendered innocuous, they seem to have passed their days in a blissful ignorance of all that human intellect has contrived for human misery, and almost to have enjoyed an exemption from the doom that followed man's first unhallowed appetite for knowledge of good and evil.

But despite his celebration of the Indians' simplicity and purity of character, Jeffrey had not forgotten that the white men who wronged them were "the learned, the educated, the refined, the champions of chivalry, the messengers of the gospel of peace."<sup>37</sup> Such virtues are not possessed by the savages, nor did Jeffrey imply, like a genuine exponent of primitivism, that they are inferior to those of the savage. Though he glorified the aboriginal state, he did not advocate that all British subjects should turn savage; rather, he pointed out the irony in the fact that the Indian's innocence and the white man's civiliza-

<sup>33</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, XIV (April, 1809), 2-3. Cf. XVII (February, 1811), 451; XXVIII (August, 1817), 396; XLIV (September, 1826), 254.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, III (October, 1803), 30.

<sup>35</sup> E.g., Chateaubriand and Novalis, respectively.

<sup>36</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, XXIX (February, 1818), 475-97, *passim*.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, XLVIII (September, 1828), 5-6. In idealizing the American Indian, Jeffrey more or less followed Irving, who in turn seems to have followed his Spanish authorities.

tion should react to their common disaster. Jeffrey's feeling toward the natives of Loo-Choo also shows that he had not surrendered to the illusion of primitivism. Sentimentalize though he did about their simple virtues, he was pleasantly surprised to find among these people merits which he had previously assumed were peculiar to the higher civilization of Great Britain. Thus he was pleased to discover a primitive people approximating the morality of civilization—far different from advocating, with the primitivist, that civilization is an unmixed evil which ought to be displaced by reverting to the Arcadian perfection of the noble savage. Moreover, Jeffrey did not thus idealize the primitive cultures of Greece, India, or the Teutonic peoples; nor did he make any such implication as to even the Scottish Highlanders: he thought them superior to English peasants, it is true, but not to the cultivated British classes.<sup>38</sup>

With the foregoing facts in mind, one is not surprised to learn that Jeffrey had no romantic regard for the Middle Ages. He experienced no nostalgic yearning therefor, had no desire to escape imaginatively to that remote period, and was unsympathetic toward writers who did—particularly Scott. He was annoyed that the latter, in his *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, had lavished upon "antiquarian researches, so much of those powers which seem fully equal to the task of raising him an independent reputation" and was further irritated over Scott's repeating the experiment in *Marmion*.<sup>39</sup> Reduced to their simplest terms, Jeffrey's objections and the decorum that they imply would read thus:

The age of chivalry was distinguished by knightly valor, gallantry, and the superiority of court circles over the ignorant masses,—which collectively constituted the spirit of the period. Let the modern writer restrict himself to materials which have such associations, excluding for this reason 'low' details. A minute enumeration of such details was natural enough in a simple, naïve writer of the Middle Ages, but to-day it is not only unnatural, but tedious, pedantic, and ostentatious. Yet even perfect accord with this decorum would scarcely achieve permanent value, for the recent revival of the Middle Ages is 'too evidently unnatural to be long prevalent in the modern world.'

Hence Jeffrey considered it his duty to steer Scott toward materials less unworthy of his acknowledged genius.<sup>40</sup>

Closely associated with the appeal of the Middle Ages is the romantic interest in ruins. In this matter also Jeffrey showed his rational and realistic attitude when he praised Byron for being original enough to depict the remains of ancient Greece as he found them.<sup>41</sup> Here Jeffrey was attracted not by the "pathos of distance"

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *Edinburgh Review*, XXIII (April, 1814), 202; XVIII (August, 1811), 484-88.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, VI (April, 1805), 7; XII (April, 1808), 3.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, XII (April, 1808), 29-32. Cf. Jeffrey's review of Dr. Samuel Rush Meyrick's *Critical Inquiry into Ancient Armour*, 3 vols. (London, 1823), a review which reveals a scientific and historical interest in the subject, but betrays no romantic ardor, XXXIX (January, 1824), 346-63, *passim*.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIII (April, 1814), 205.

or by a sense of novelty, but rather by what he thought a realistic treatment of a contemporary scene in which ruins found their place amid surroundings of great natural beauty. His attitude was not, then, fundamentally romantic except in so far as he admired physical nature. Implicitly he praised Byron for not indulging in "ruins and retrospect."

Jeffrey cannot be said to have held either the neoclassic or the romantic view of the literary types of the Middle Ages. He recognized the "Gothic" qualities but was not blind to certain merits admired by the romanticists. He was thus more liberal than the Augustans, but too cautious to overlook the crudities when admiring the beauties. His real feeling doubtless was that the merits of the metrical romance<sup>42</sup> and the ballad<sup>43</sup> were all very well for the Middle Ages, and the faults thoroughly typical of the times; but that the subsequent refinement of diction and poetical imagination had made a reversion to the medieval absurd. As to the attempts to combine medieval and modern, as in adaptations or imitations of romance or ballad, such experiments might achieve some merit but, after all, are fundamentally incongruous and affected. The metrical romance and the ballad were good enough for their own time, and may yet be enjoyed on that basis; but modern English poetry, with its enriched traditions, is capable of something immeasurably superior. Hence Scott was wasting his genius on versified romances, and the "Lakers" were perverting their powers on both types.

Everything which he found obscure or did not understand Jeffrey condemned with the blanket term "mysticism." Thus he spoke of Carlyle's translation of *Wilhelm Meister*:

... where [it is] not occupied with the professional squabbles, paltry jargon, and scenical profligacy of strolling players, tumblers, and mummers (which may be said to form its staple), [it] is conversant only with incomprehensible mystics and vulgar men of whim, with whom, if it were at all possible to understand them, it would be a baseness to be acquainted.<sup>44</sup>

Wordsworth, however, seemed to Jeffrey the most chronic and stubborn offender against intelligibility. In each of his four reviews of Wordsworth the critic had something unfavorable to say about the Lake poet's obscurity or "mysticism." Two lines near the end of the "Ode to Duty," said Jeffrey, "seem to be utterly without meaning; at least we have no sort of conception in what sense *Duty* can

<sup>42</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, IV (July, 1804), 296 and n.; VI (April, 1805), 1-2, 10; XXIII (April, 1814), 203-04.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, I (October, 1802), 78-79; I (January, 1803), 424; VI (April, 1805), 16; XI (October, 1807), 218; XIII (January, 1809), 263-64; XVI (August, 1810), 271; XVII (February, 1811), 434; XXIV (February, 1815), 400-01; XXV (October, 1815), 356.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, XLII (August, 1825), 415.

be said to keep the old skies *fresh*, and the stars from wrong."<sup>45</sup> The lines "To a Cuckoo" comprise "a rapturous mystical ode," charged with absurdity. The bird tells the poet of "visionary hours"; it is "an invisible thing, a voice—a mystery," "a hope," "a love"; and "an unsubstantial faery place" is "fit home" for it.<sup>46</sup> Jeffrey would acknowledge no merit in the great ode "Intimations of Immortality from the Recollections of Early Childhood." "This is," he declared, "beyond all doubt, the most illegible and unintelligible part of the publication. We can pretend to give no analysis or explanation of it;—our readers must make what they can of the following extracts," whereupon he quoted the latter part of Stanza IV and all of Stanza IX to uphold his opinion.<sup>47</sup> *The Excursion* Jeffrey described as "a tissue of moral and devotional ravings, in which . . . the mystical verbiage of the methodist pulpit is repeated, till the speaker entertains no doubt that he is the elected organ of divine truth and persuasion."<sup>48</sup> The fourth book consists largely of "an exposition of truisms, more cloudy, wordy, and inconceivably prolix, than any thing we ever met with."<sup>49</sup> In *The White Doe of Rylstone*, Jeffrey thought, Wordsworth had reduced his mysticism to "low and maudlin imbecility";<sup>50</sup> and he characterized the "Ecclesiastical Sonnets" and "Memorials of a Tour on the Continent" as being largely "a sort of prosy, solemn, obscure, feeble kind of mouthing."<sup>51</sup>

Bitterly as he attacked Southey for his faults, Jeffrey did not accuse him of the "Lakish" fault of "mysticism." But the unintelligibility which he found in Byron he did attribute to the evil influence of the Lake School.<sup>52</sup> He published also an attack on Coleridge's mysticism, which may or may not be from his own pen, but which is consonant with his more positively identified pronouncements.<sup>53</sup> He thought that Keats "deals too much with shadowy and incomprehensible beings, and is too constantly rapt into an extramundane Elysium, to command a lasting interest with ordinary mortals."<sup>54</sup>

<sup>45</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, XI (October, 1807), 221. The lines criticized are:

Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong;  
And the most ancient heavens, though  
Thee, are fresh and strong.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, XI (October, 1807), 224-25. Jeffrey was more than once unfair in making literal prose paraphrases of imaginative verse and in quoting piecemeal without adequate context.

<sup>47</sup> Review of Wordsworth's *Poems, in Two Volumes* (London, 1807), in *Edinburgh Review*, XI (October, 1807), 227.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV (November, 1814), 4.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV (November, 1814), 8.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, XXV (October, 1815), 356.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXVII (November, 1822), 450.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVII (December, 1816), 304-05.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVIII (August, 1817), 491-92, in a review of *Biographia Literaria* which has been attributed to both Hazlitt and Jeffrey, but which was probably written by the former and liberally edited by the latter. Cf. Jeffrey's complaint, LXII (October, 1835), 244, that *Table Talk* marches "at all times, under the exclusive guidance of the Pillar of Smoke."

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXIV (August, 1820), 206.



This quality in Keats, though not mysticism, appeared such to Jeffrey because he did not understand it.<sup>55</sup> Walter Bagehot ascribed Jeffrey's hostility to the influence of the Whigs, who were "most averse to mysticism." Says Bagehot:

A clear, precise, discriminating intellect shrinks at once from the symbolic, the unbounded, the indefinite. The misfortune is that mysticism is true . . . it is certain that Mr. Wordsworth preached this kind of religion, and that Lord Jeffrey did not believe a word of it. His cool, sharp, collected mind revolted from its mysticism; his detective intelligence was absorbed in its apparent fallaciousness; his light humour made sport with the sublimities of the preacher. His love of perspicuity was vexed by its indefiniteness; the precise philosopher was amazed at its mystic unintelligibility.<sup>56</sup>

Although Jeffrey ordinarily employed *nature* to denote the sum of representative human traits, or life in its broadest aspects, yet he admired nature in the newer sense also. The degree to which he sympathized with his contemporaries, the romantic poets, in their love of scenery (in which sense *nature*, unqualified, will be used in this section), will further illuminate his relation to his own time. The rural landscape and the more rugged aspects of nature afforded Jeffrey unmixed pleasure. He delighted in walking expeditions, made frequent holiday visits to the Scottish Highlands, and went on many a jaunt for the sake of scenery alone, visiting the solitary valleys of Wales or the lochs and mountains of his own country, and composing sonnets to express his emotions.<sup>57</sup> The difference between Jeffrey's and Wordsworth's reaction to nature is evident in the treatment of the Highlands, which Jeffrey dearly loved and of which he wrote thus in a letter:

Yesterday being glorious with sun and calm, we went to the top of Ben Lomond quite leisurely and comfortably; saw all the glorious company of mountains, from Ben Nevis to Stirling; and also our own shadows, surrounded with glories, reflected in the mist. We got down in the most magnificent sunset, and met two of the most beautiful girls in the Highlands gathering nuts in the woods; and the splendid light reflected back from their bright eyes and teeth and shining curls, as they sat on a tuft of heath, with the dark oak coppice behind them, made the loveliest and most *romantic picture*<sup>58</sup> I ever looked on.

At the close of the letter Jeffrey alluded appreciatively to the "sounding rills and singing cascades . . . that deep solitude and wild seclusion, which speak to the heart more impressively than shade or verdure can ever do without them."<sup>59</sup> Here Jeffrey was admiring the same sort of natural surroundings that appealed to

<sup>55</sup> The Jeffrey-Carlyle correspondence contains frequent additional references to mysticism, with Jeffrey, as usual, attacking.

<sup>56</sup> Walter Bagehot, *Literary Studies*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London, 1879), I, 26, 27-28.

<sup>57</sup> Cockburn, *op. cit.*, I, 174-75.

<sup>58</sup> Italics mine.

<sup>59</sup> Cockburn, *op. cit.*, II, 218-20, letter dated September 23, 1824.



Wordsworth. He had no quarrel with natural beauty as material for literature, but only with the romantic treatment of it. To what did he object in the treatment? A partial answer is found in what is lacking from the passage just quoted. The Highland vale at sunset was a picture seen with the artist's eye, and the peasant girls fitted into it. They were beautiful and typical enough to harmonize with the background; but they were not seers or prophetesses or "emanations of the landscape," and Jeffrey found in them no mystic significance as Wordsworth did in his *Solitary Reaper* and his *Highland Girl*. Then, too, even if the "deep solitude and wild seclusion" did "speak to his heart" with unique impressiveness, Jeffrey did not elaborate thereon in transcendental strain. He saw the objective beauty of the Highland scenery as Wordsworth did, but he was too rational, analytic, and literal-minded to see more than the beauty of line and color. In his mood there was no sense of an awesome and mysterious relation among Man, Nature, and God.<sup>60</sup>

As to the poetical uses of nature, Jeffrey's theories are explicit. "No subject," he ruled, "can be fairly denominated unpoetical, which holds out an opportunity to expatiate on the beauties of nature."<sup>61</sup> The poetical appeal of nature is universal because fundamentally associative, he believed:

All men have interesting associations with dawns and sunsets:—and the returns of summer and winter, as they indicate themselves upon the woods and waters, the mountains and fields of our home scenery, recall to every bosom a thousand impressions, more deep and touching than can usually be excited by objects far more new and extraordinary. A lively picture of nature, therefore, pleases everybody—and is the only thing, perhaps, that does so.<sup>62</sup>

In his review of Archibald Alison's *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste* (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1811), Jeffrey included nature in his exposition of Alison's association theory of aesthetics. He classified the scenery of the Highlands, the English landscape, spring, and thunder along with childhood and girlish beauty as objects which are sublime or beautiful because they are "the natural signs, and perpetual concomitants of happiness or suffering, or, at any rate, of some lively feeling or emotion in ourselves or in some other sentient beings."<sup>63</sup> External nature, then, invariably has lasting and general appeal because founded upon universal associations, from which, it may be added, came the emotions which the landscape evoked in Jeffrey as he enjoyed the "picture" spread out before him.

<sup>60</sup> Wordsworth's sonnet, "Composed upon Westminster Bridge, September 3, 1802," can be similarly contrasted with a passage in a letter written by Jeffrey on April 20, 1831—quoted by Cockburn, *op. cit.*, I, 317—and with a passage in an unpublished letter found in the Jane Cockburn transcript of Jeffrey's letters to her father (National Library of Scotland, 9.1.8-12, No. 42, dated July 7, 1831).

<sup>61</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, XIII (October, 1808), 69.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, XVI (April, 1810), 214.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, XVIII (May, 1811), 9, 14-16.

The concessions which Jeffrey made to the romantic spirit of his time were scarcely sufficient to identify him with that spirit. There were too many reservations, not to mention forthright denials and rejections. He yielded slightly to romantic wonder, but preferred the actual and the universal. He enjoyed the country and his own domestic circle, but his choice was more a matter of taste and artistic enjoyment than "infinite, indeterminate longing." In many respects he was hostile to the Middle Ages, but assumed a medial position without acquiring a fondness for "ruins and retrospect." True to his sentimental-moral outlook, he lauded certain primitive folk for their elemental virtues, which he raised almost to the level of the noble savage tradition, but he disliked their superstitions and crudities of taste.<sup>64</sup> Although he had much to say about original genius, he did not use the term in the romantic sense; to Jeffrey it meant not expansiveness, lawlessness, the Titanic pose, but artistic individuality untrammelled by subservient imitation of models—or spontaneity moderately conforming to the generally accepted, or traditional, standards. Romantic ennui, self-contemplation, aestheticism, the new ethics, he ruled out with an angry flourish. He genuinely enjoyed the landscape, first, for its beauty of line and color, and second, for the pleasurable associations that it recalled, but without any sense of mysterious significance. Indeed, he sought to exclude all truth that transcends reason, applying the term "mysticism" indiscriminately to everything that he found unintelligible. The pose of infallibility—in anyone other than himself—bored and irritated him. What appeared to him the limitless conceit, the aggravated self-consciousness, the sense of uniqueness, the illusion of originality, and the uncompromising perversity of the Lake School, with attendant vulgarity and affectation, excited him almost to violence. He rejected the idea of progress as "a splendid illusion," yet believed that taste progresses. He excoriated emotional excess in others, yet in his private life—particularly in his later years—was himself given to emotional orgies, and in his reviews often expressed his likes and dislikes in superlatives. To the romantic poets of his own time he seemed ultra-conservative or reactionary; but, judged by the standards of Thomas Rymer and John Dennis, he was liberal, indeed unorthodox. If he was eclectic in his views, he was also transitional, bridging the gap, let us say, between Dr. Johnson and Hazlitt. Among the critics his position was analogous to Crabbe's among the poets; and it was no accident that the latter was his favorite. There was a conflict between his sensibility and his reason, a conflict never fully resolved; the former was more potent and active than generally recognized; but his reviews were characteristically dominated by common sense and reason.

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<sup>64</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, XVIII (August, 1811), 491, 496, 502.

## REVIEWS

*Goethe und die Weltliteratur.* By FRITZ STRICH. Bern, 1946. Pp. 408.

This monumental work is the ripe fruit of a scholarly mind and at the same time of a really human understanding of Goethe's work which represents a perfect balance between East and West. The style of the book is refreshingly simple, void of any literary jargon. It is a true pleasure to read it through and then to take it up again chapter by chapter. Moreover, it appeared at a very opportune moment.

Goethe himself in 1827 coined the word *Weltliteratur* which through him had become a European reality. Strich carefully differentiates between *Weltpoesie* and *Weltliteratur*. He also reveals a fine grasp of the characteristically German dualism combining a musical, Romantic nature and that idealism which culls its inspiration from antiquity. His chapter on Madame de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* is especially praiseworthy. The fundamental difference between the social trend of the French, and the individualistic bent of the German, mind is well brought out. Strich, moreover, significantly points to the frequently misinterpreted passage:

Höchstes Glück der Erdenkinder  
Sei nur die Persönlichkeit

in which Goethe certainly does not identify himself with "Volk und Knecht und Überwinder."

The author's statement: "Es ist ein geradezu erschütternder Gedanke, daß Dichter wie Hölderlin und Kleist es bis heute noch nicht vermocht haben, sich einen ihrer wirklich würdigen Platz in der Weltliteratur zu erobern, während französische Dichter von unermeßlich geringerem Grade dem europäischen Bewußtsein ganz geläufig sind. . . ." is, however, only true of H. von Kleist, since Hölderlin, at least in this country and in America, has become almost a spiritual force during the last years.

Strich rightly sees in *Euphoriön* not only a reflection of Byron, but also of Napoleon. The whole field of European interrelationships is brilliantly surveyed, and it would indeed be ungrateful to belittle certain minor points which could perhaps have been worked out more fully, i.e., the references to Taine, Kierkegaard, Goethe's apprentice novel and its English kinsmen (cf. Susanne Howe's comprehensive study on the subject, New York, 1930), Goethe in modern France (cf. Flora Emma Ross's detailed references to M. Barrès, P. Bourget, and A. Gide, University of Illinois, 1937).

It is significant that Strich's profound study comes from Switzerland, the fertile soil for cosmopolitan ideas and relationships: "Nie wird es allein auf politischen Wege und durch Weltorganisation möglich sein, einen Frieden zu sichern, in dem die menschliche Kultur sich höher und höher zu entwickeln vermag. Ohne den Geist,

den Goethegeist, wird dieses Ziel für ewig unerreichbar bleiben" (p. 396).

These concluding remarks probe to the heart of Germany's present tragedy.

A. CLOSS

University of Bristol, England

*Mysteries' End: An Investigation of the Last Days of the Medieval Stage.* By HAROLD C. GARDINER, S.J. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946. Pp. xiv + 139. \$3.00.

By giving a fresh and thoroughly capable review of a topic as a rule treated in too cursory a fashion, *Mysteries' End* definitely advances our understanding of the late medieval drama. Its author rightly observes that, much as scholars have debated the origins of the medieval Christian drama, they have treated its decline and decay in too cavalier a fashion. It is not enough to state merely that secular plays replaced the old Mysteries or that the public wearied of the traditional shows. How did this happen, and what, more precisely, really did happen?

With some measure of success the present volume refutes the familiar view that the Catholic Church from the beginning of the thirteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century opposed the English sacred plays. With approximately similar success it denies that the decline in these plays was caused by a falling off in the guilds which produced them. The sole explanation given here is that leaders of Reformation policy in England suppressed the plays for political reasons and largely against the people's will. The similar decay of the old drama in France and Germany is laid to the same cause. Survivals in lands virtually untouched by the Reformation lead by an oblique road to the same conclusion, although here the case is clearly forced, since the Mediterranean countries produced no plays strictly similar to those of trans-Alpine Europe. Among the well-marshaled evidence a few new items are presented, notably an interesting document relating to the suppression of the Mysteries at Wakefield.

Able and refreshing as this argument is, the case is decidedly over-emphasized and over-stated. The Mysteries in France, as Gustave Cohen and others have shown, died more from internal wounds, from slackness in the performances and fading enthusiasm, than from external pressure. Contemporaries of Montaigne simply did not relish the old plays; it is obvious that in all countries people and authorities alike cared little to contend in their behalf. The author of *Mysteries' End* apparently fails to understand that the robustious embellishments on Scriptural themes sincerely offended the Biblical-minded Protestants, who felt freer to dramatize Josephus than the Scriptures. Wholly concerned with documents of the stage and prone to simplify motives and causes quite beyond the realm of reality, the author gives a narrowly legalistic and an unphilosophical

account of this fascinating and most human episode in dramatic history. As far as he goes, he is on safe ground. But he neglects to observe how fated was the decline of the old plays because of rising tides of secularism, realism, and the Renaissance—because, in other words, of radically new cultural patterns. The old drama was destined to a decay very similar, for example, to that overtaking Gothic architecture, and from much the same causes. The decline of the morality play is, of course, a part of the same evolution, only superficially affected by public decree. *Mysteries' End*, with its special pleading, gives the political and legal side of the problem; the more speculative side emphatically remains to be reexamined.

HENRY W. WELLS

Columbia University

*The True Text of King Lear.* By LEO KIRSCHBAUM. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1945. Pp. ix + 81. \$1.75.

Mr. Kirschbaum believes that a satisfactory text of *King Lear* "will depend on F almost exclusively. It will hesitantly use Q where F is manifestly corrupt and where F manifestly omits inadvertently; of necessity, it will use Q where F has been cut" (p. 79). It is his contention that Q prints a memorial reconstruction which no doubt would transmit a less reliable text than stenography; he does not develop this theory, but if the copy for Q came from a single reporter, as he suggests, he possessed not a "capable" (p. 30) but a phenomenal, if inaccurate, memory, for Q is abnormally long and correctly represents some difficult passages. The number of superior Q readings has been its strongest bastion, and Mr. Greg, a rigorous critic of Q, allows about a hundred (p. 5). Mr. Kirschbaum's position rests on a double hypothesis: that a reporter without "a very high degree of intelligence" (p. 30) was able to produce accidentally a substantial number of readings superior to Shakespeare's; and that a scrupulous F editor with an authoritative manuscript, emending a Q into printer's copy, faithfully rejected these for others inferior but undoubtedly authentic (pp. 7-9). This hypothesis would have more to recommend it were there no comparable superior readings in any of the "good" quartos.

Mr. Kirschbaum's broad hypothesis apparently is his warrant for not endeavoring explicitly to show that all the superior Q readings were manufactured in the memorial process. He arranges into seventy examples passages of varied length on which he bases his argument for memorial reconstruction; his immediate purpose is to extend Mr. Greg's examples of the intrusion of memory beyond the possible lapses of actors to the probable errors of the reporter. With the commonly accepted superior Q readings, whether he accounts for them by "mishearing," anticipation, or recollection, or whether he defends an inferior F text, he is least happy (see examples 4, 10, 14, 21, 31, 49, 50, 54). Furthermore, though he quotes Sir Edmund

Chambers (p. 4), "In a reported text, actors, reporter, and printer may all have contributed," in his attempt to show that "Q is a constant memorial corruption of the text of F" (p. 7), he disregards not only possible corruptions of the printer, but also probable omissions or stage cuts which (as in example 15) are sometimes worth considering. Mr. Kirschbaum argues with commendable candor and with vigor, but he does not work out a pattern of evidence which attracts or justifies assent; there is provocative criticism in this novel and ingenious study, but it is essentially a resolute simplification of a notably intricate problem.

RICHARD H. PERKINSON

Fordham University

*A Check List of English Plays, 1641-1700.* Compiled by GERTRUDE L. WOODWARD and JAMES G. McMANAWAY. Chicago: The Newberry Library, 1945. Pp. [vii] + 155.

Students of Commonwealth and Restoration drama will find this bibliography of editions and issues of plays printed between 1641 and 1700 extremely useful. It excludes "reprints of classical Greek and Latin plays in their original tongues, and political and critical dialogues which were never intended for stage presentation. Included are translations and adaptations of classical plays [and of plays in modern languages], a few moral and literary pieces, where there is at least a possibility that they were performed as academic or religious exercises, and royal and civic pageants, even those in which the printed text contains little more than narration or set speeches." The bibliography was compiled during the war years, when it was not possible to check all the plays in the Folger Library and the Library of Congress; and a supplement of eight pages prints corrections and additions made possible by the return of these libraries to normal activity. Over thirteen hundred items are listed, with copies located in eleven university libraries—University of California at Los Angeles, Yale, Chicago, Northwestern, Harvard, Williams, Michigan, Cornell, Princeton, Pennsylvania, and Texas—and the Library of Congress, the Folger, the Huntington, the Newberry, and the New York Public Library. It is gratifying to note how rich these libraries are in the drama of the period here covered: of the 1340 items in the bibliography less than a score are wanting in these American libraries.<sup>1</sup> The compilers observe that three-fourths of the

<sup>1</sup> The only plays of which copies are not listed in the sixteen libraries are: Anthony Brewer, *The Perjured Nun* (1680); Henry Burkhead, *The Tragedy of Cola's Fury* (Kilkenny, 1645); John Caryl, *The English Princess* (1666); E. Ecclestone, *The Deluge* (1690); Edmund Gayton, *Charity Triumphant* (1655); Thomas Jordan, *Bacchus Festival* (1660); *The Cheaters Cheated* (1659), and *Eclogue* (1659); William Phillips, *Alcarnenes and Menalippa* (1668); Rochester, *Sodom* ("Antwerp," 1684); Thomas Snelling, *Pharamus* (Oxford, 1650); Matthew Taubman, *London's Anniversary Festival* (1688); and the following anonymous plays: *Ballet et Musique pour le Divertissement*



items "are available to scholars in each of two libraries in America, the Folger and the Huntington, and more than half of them in each of two others, Harvard and Yale."

The check list serves, however, not only as a census of copies; thanks to the devoted industry of the compilers in recording editions and variant issues, it considerably increases our knowledge of the bibliography of seventeenth-century drama. Under Congreve, for instance, five issues of *The Old Batchelour* in 1693 are recorded (compared with four in *CBEL*), four editions of *Love for Love* in 1695 (as against two in *CBEL*), and three editions of *The Mourning Bride* in 1697 (as against two in *CBEL*). Copies of a first edition (1696) of Motteux's *Loves of Mars and Venus* (not recorded in *CBEL*) are to be found in three American libraries. There are also three copies recorded of the 1697 edition of Aphra Behn's *The Rover* (listed only, and with a query, in *CBEL*). For Dryden the bibliography lists several items not to be found in Macdonald: a 1675 edition and a 1698 issue of *Secret-Love*, a 1681 issue of *The Spanish Fryar*, and a 1670 issue and a 1694 edition of *Tyrannick Love*. These examples, out of many, will indicate how valuable the work of Mrs. Woodward and Mr. McManaway will be to the student. The entries under Brome's *Five New Plays* (1659) and Otway's *Friendship in Fashion* (1678) should be noted for their exactness in distinguishing variant issues.<sup>2</sup>

The continuation of the *Short-Title Catalogue* by Wing will of course duplicate much of this material, but it is altogether desirable to have such a check list for drama, when it is done with the care which Mrs. Woodward and Mr. McManaway have bestowed upon it. Since a short-title catalogue of books printed after 1700 is almost unthinkable, a series of similar check lists for drama—and fiction—in the eighteenth century would be of the greatest usefulness. Let us hope that these two collaborators will put us further in their debt.

DONALD F. BOND

University of Chicago

*Four Essays on "Gulliver's Travels."* By ARTHUR E. CASE. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945. Pp. viii + 133. \$2.00.

The four essays included in Professor Case's recent study are concerned with the text, the geography and chronology, the personal and political satire (Books I and III), and the significance of *Gulliver's Travels*. They are, as he says, the result of his editing the *Travels* for

*du Roy de la Grande Bretagne* (1674); *Dialogue concerning Women* (1691); *The Gossips Braule* (1655); *Mr. Turbulent* (1682); *Titus* (1644); and *The Wandering Whores Complaint* (1663).

<sup>2</sup> The ICU copy of Otway's *Friendship in Fashion* differs, however, from the three items listed here (Nos. 877, 878, 879). Line 11 of the title reads "Licenced, &c.," but it has the two rules at the top of A2 and does not borrow the two lines of text from A2<sup>v</sup>. The dedication signature is misspelled "Thomas Otwayv."



Nelson in 1938 and in the process arriving at some conclusions differing from those held by most modern critics. Professor Case in these essays has collected, organized, and amplified the material found in the footnotes and commentary of that edition. The result is a challenging and welcome addition to the already great amount of scattered commentary on one of the most widely read and still most baffling books in our literature.

This reader, by reason of his prejudices, is bound to value the first two of these essays lower than the last two. He gladly admits, however, that his lower valuation is based on their subjects rather than on any failure of the author to treat them as thoroughly and sensibly as he does the subjects of the third and fourth essays. It will be found that Professor Case, even in his essay on the textual problems, is producing evidence to support his general thesis, a thesis consistently maintained, that *Gulliver's Travels* is not a "patch-work . . . springing from Scriblerus," but a carefully planned and worked out "politico-sociological treatise much of which is couched in the medium of satire."

In the third essay Professor Case goes over the ground covered by Sir Charles Firth and comes up with conclusions differing in many details from those of the earlier work. "Consistency can be obtained," says Professor Case, "by supposing that Gulliver's career in Lilliput represents the joint political fortunes of Oxford and Bolingbroke during the latter half of Queen Anne's reign, when the two men shared the leadership of the Tory party." In some cases, as, for example, the identification of Bolgolam as Nottingham, both writers are in agreement but their reasons differ. In other instances there are different identifications, as in Professor Case's finding that Reldresal and Munodi represent Townsend and Oxford. This third essay should be particularly satisfying to those, and there must be many, who have found the Firth study in places forced and implausible. Certainly one will find it difficult henceforth to subscribe to Professor Quintana's belief that the political satire in the *Voyage to Lilliput* is a "subsidiary . . . theme" with "no high degree of consistency."

The fourth essay deals with the author's conception of Swift's overall plan and the significance of the *Travels*. On these subjects we can never, of course, expect to find the final word. The field remains open, especially in the interpretation of Book IV. We may come to believe that there is less of the Utopian element in Houyhnhnm land than has been generally supposed. The case for the *Travels* being a work written all of a piece by one who had a far greater design than that of merely diverting the world with a hodgepodge of narratives and vexing it with satiric passages and autobiographical allusions is one that has an able advocate in Professor Case, who has added significantly to our knowledge and understanding of the *Travels*.

DONALD CORNU

University of Washington

*Jonathan Swift: A List of Critical Studies Published from 1895 to 1945.* By LOUIS A. LANDA and JAMES EDWARD TOBIN. New York: Cosmopolitan Science and Art Service Co., Inc., 1945. Pp. 62. \$1.25.

The appearance of the second in the series of eighteenth-century bibliographical pamphlets will be welcomed by all scholars, and must be regarded as an invaluable aid to those doing research in this field. Coinciding with the two-hundredth anniversary of the death of Swift, the handbook gives ample evidence in its 615 items of the work of the last fifty years in clearing away many of the myths which had surrounded the Dean's life and character. The organization of the work into twelve subdivisions with cross-references, supplemented by an index of 500 names, should make it an easily manipulated tool for those attacking some of the unanswered questions which remain.

Perhaps one of the most apparent needs discovered by a perusal of the lists is further study of Swift's relationship to the currents of thought of his own day. For example, although he acknowledged to Pope in a letter on November 26, 1725, that La Rochefoucauld's thought had profoundly influenced his own, yet the French author's name is not so much as mentioned in the Index to these recent studies. Nor is this the only relationship of its kind which has not been examined adequately.

In addition to these first two useful guides to materials on Pope and Swift, the editors are preparing to include in the series similar pamphlets on Edmund Burke, Oliver Goldsmith, Daniel Defoe, and Samuel Johnson.

EVAN K. GIBSON

*University of Washington*

*The Correspondence of Bayard Taylor and Paul Hamilton Hayne.* Edited by CHARLES DUFFY. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1945. Pp. ix + 111. \$2.00.

In 1944 Daniel Morley McKeithan of the University of Texas published a large collection of the correspondence of Paul Hamilton Hayne, nearly 250 letters in all, directed to a variety of persons including Richard Henry Stoddard, John Esten Cooke, E. P. Whipple, Lowell, Longfellow, Whittier, Edmund Clarence Stedman, Simms, and Moses Coit Tyler. The name of Bayard Taylor occurs in these letters, but none were addressed to him. Thus the correspondence of Taylor and Hayne, admirably edited by Charles Duffy, supplements the Hayne letters already available in print without adding materially to our knowledge of the Southern poet.

Hayne and Taylor never met, but their correspondence stretched out over the years from 1859 to 1878. Hayne initiated this exchange of letters, stimulated its continuation by his curiosity and flattery,

and sustained it by writing frequently and at length. His letters are both reverential and plaintive, contrasting sharply with the blunt, terse, generally business-like replies of Taylor. Hayne's later letter to Longfellow in which he remarked apropos of Taylor's death, "I had *never* met Taylor, but his *letters* to me were so genial, frank, even *affectionate*, that I shall miss him, ah! how much!" (McKeithan, *ed. cit.*, p. 171), is somewhat less than candid.

Five years the younger, and much the lesser known of the two writers, Hayne directed most of his letters to Taylor from his home at Copse Hill in Georgia. At the time he was having a difficult financial problem to cope with. His poems sold badly, his thin volumes of verse had little circulation, and he complained bitterly about the intellectual climate of the South. Hayne found himself in the position of a sincere regional poet writing about his own immediate surroundings for the delectation of readers far removed in place and interest. As a consequence, between adulations of Taylor's prose and verse Hayne requested help in the placing of his poems or suggested that Taylor's word in the ears of certain editors might be valuable. Another constant theme was the miserable plight of Southern authors and their necessary dependence upon Northern readers. Hayne also urged Taylor to undertake a Southern lecture tour and to visit him at his home near Augusta while passing through the South.

Taylor, already a popular success when Hayne first approached him in an epistolary way, responded partly out of auctorial fellowship and partly out of the pleasure of being addressed so respectfully. Taylor was the successful man of the literary world, widely traveled, widely acclaimed, who freely gave advice to less fortunate authors than he, and always posed as the hard-working man who was driven frantic by the demands of his public and his genius. To Hayne he was a kind of mental athlete accomplishing extraordinary deeds. Taylor's condescension must at times have irked even the adulating Hayne, as when the older writer remarked in 1875, "I don't believe you in the South know what active, *working* lives we lead here." The relationship of the two correspondents was obviously not always ideal.

The forty-six letters that Professor Duffy has published here are rather trivial on the whole and do little more than reinforce earlier impressions of the two correspondents. Hayne's letters are the more revealing and the more personal. Taylor's are often nothing more than curt answers to questions. The annotation is meticulous, if overly full, and there is an excellent and succinct introduction.

JOHN T. FLANAGAN

*Southern Methodist University*

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\*Books received which treat non-literary aspects of Spanish-America will be found listed, and in many cases reviewed, in the *Revista Iberoamericana*.

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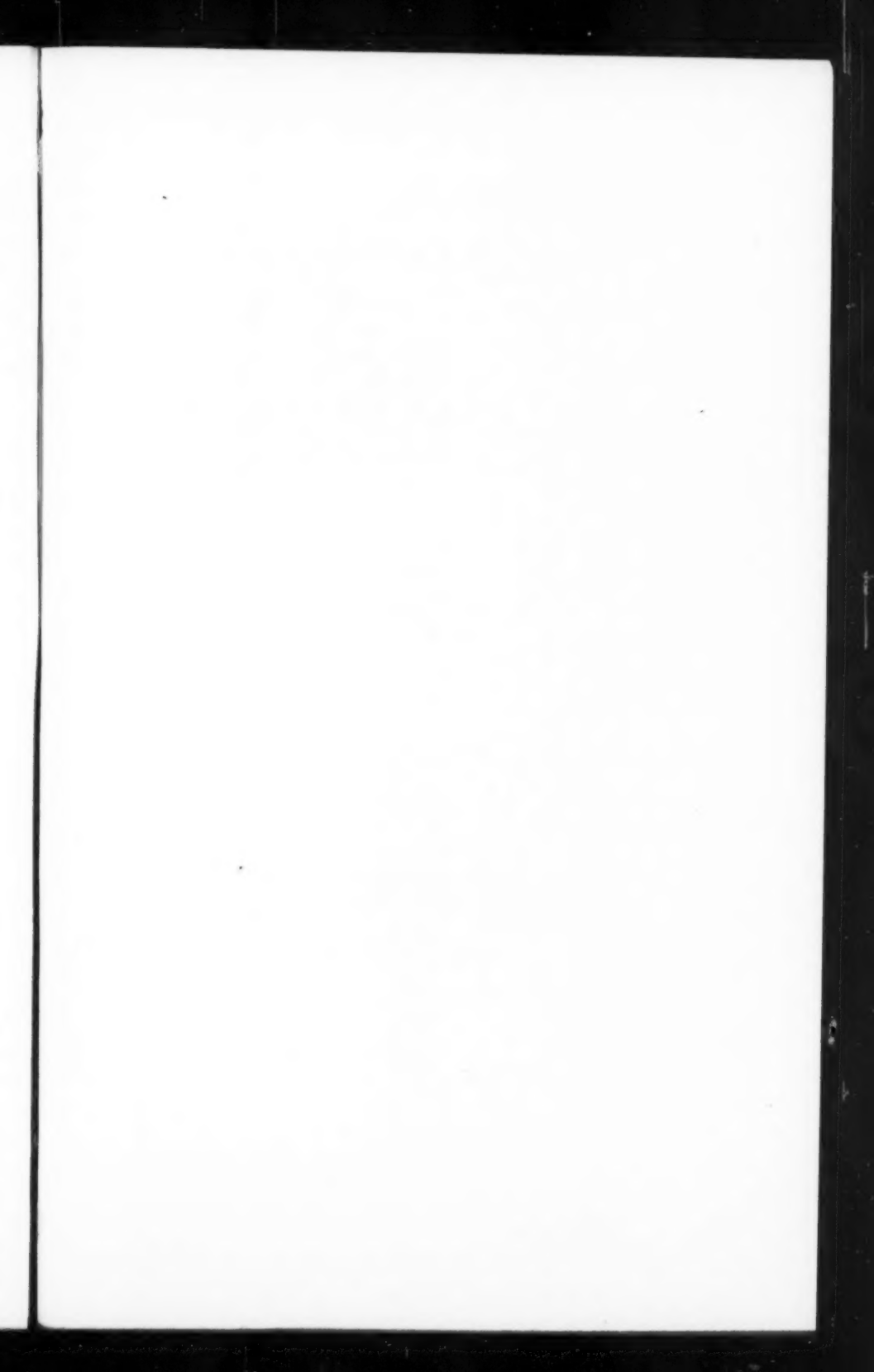
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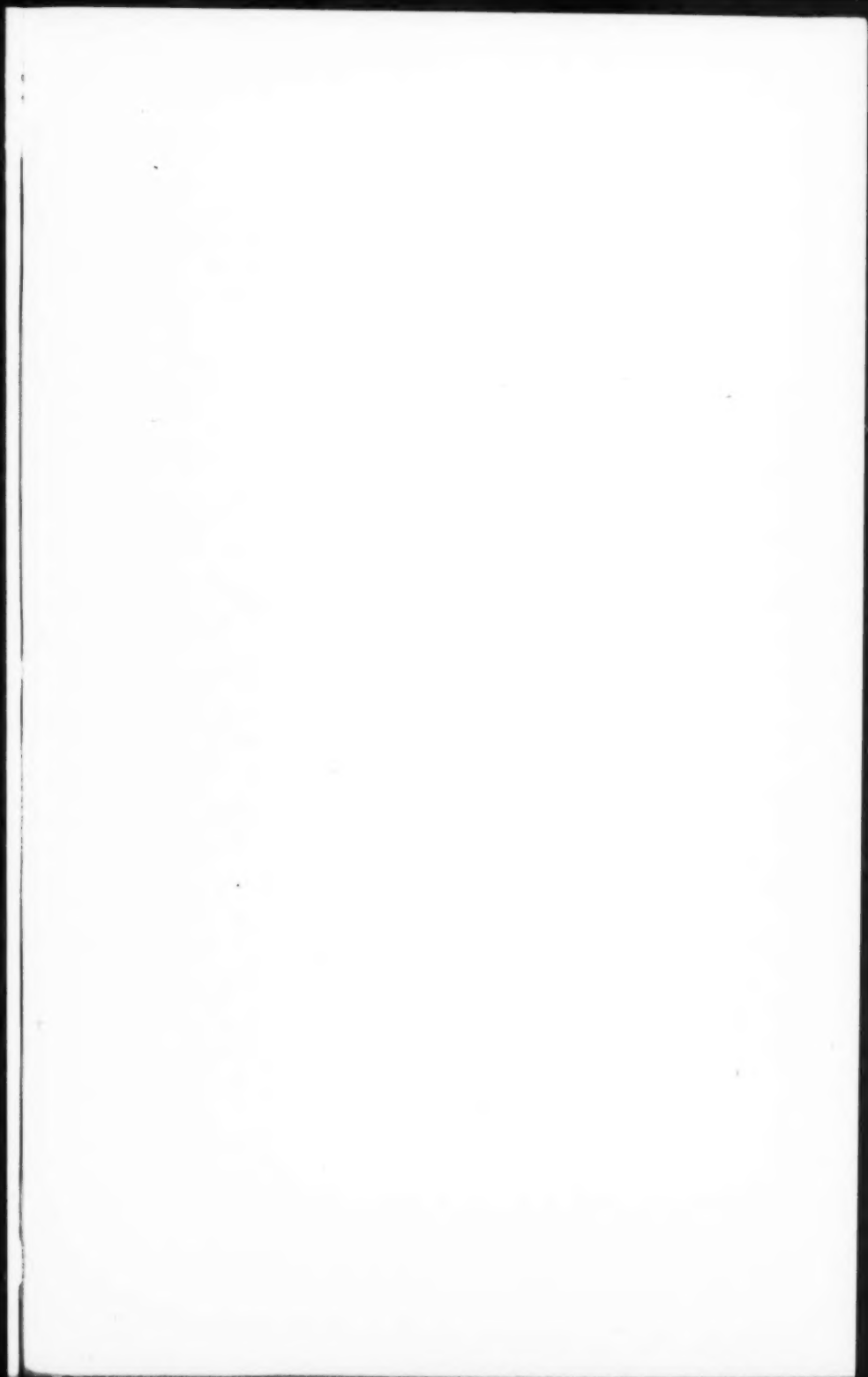












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